NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
No. DCXXXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1908.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW FEDERALISM.

BY HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL.D., DEAN OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

A TENDENCY has developed within a few years to increase the power of the Federal Government at the expense of the State Government, and in the Federal Government to enhance the power of the Executive Department at the expense of both the Judicial and the Legislative Departments. A disposition has also manifested itself to ignore the canons of constitutional construction which heretofore have guided the courts of this country, and to establish a new theory which shall give to the Constitution that quality of elasticity which is the characteristic of the common law. There also appear an increasing antagonism to the courts and an attempt to create a feeling that they are anti-democratic and should be shorn of their power to nullify unconstitutional legislation. The Constitution is itself beginning to be regarded by some of our people as an antiquated document which has been outgrown, and which established a government that was democratic in name but anti-republican in fact. An antipathy is expressed to the limitations of power which the Constitution has imposed and which the Fathers reverenced and deemed necessary. These tendencies are found to some extent

Copyright, 1908, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All Rights Reserved

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in both of the great parties and in all sections of the country. The tendencies are menacing and they should be earnestly opposed and strenuously resisted. It is not surprising that, among eighty-five millions of people, theories of government should be advanced which are false, visionary and mischievous. But the expression of such views need not occasion any serious apprehension. The American people, in their final judgment, are not likely to go wrong, or to consent that reckless innovation shall proceed unchecked. The foundation principles of our institutions are not to be undermined and destroyed.

The chief difficulty the framers of the Constitution encountered was in coming to an agreement as to the powers which relate to the maintenance of the Central Government, which are known as structural powers. A great diversity of opinion existed as to the structure of the new government. Should representation be in proportion to the population or should it recognize equality of the States? Should Congress be composed of two Houses or one? What regulation should be prescribed as to the time, place and manner of electing the members of Congress? Should the Executive be one or several persons? How should the Executive be chosen and for what term; and should he be eligible for re-election? Should the Executive be surrounded by a council? How should the judicial department be constituted, and what should be its jurisdiction?

But less difficulty was experienced when it came to defining the functional powers of the Government. The whole history and experience of the country indicated very plainly the line of partition between the powers of the States and of the National Government. From the very beginning of our Government, we have recognized a partition of powers. Matters of Imperial concern had belonged, throughout the Colonial period, to the Imperial Government; while matters of local concern were regulated by each Colony for itself. The line of division separating these powers was not sharply defined by organic law, but it continued to exist down to the time when the Articles of Confederation were adopted.

The founders of the Republic established the Constitution upon the fundamental principles of the absolute autonomy of the States, except in respect to the interests common to the entire country. They realized to the full extent that upon no

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other principle would it be possible to maintain a republican government over a country even as large as ours then was.

Once the question was whether the States would destroy the National Government. Now the question seems to be whether the National Government shall be permitted to destroy the States. It was the fear that that question might sometime arise which led Samuel Adams and John Hancock in Massachusetts, George Clinton in New York and Patrick Henry in Virginia to withhold for so long their assent to the ratification of the Constitution. But, under the Constitution, the States are as indestructible as the Union. The Constitution looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States. Actual abolition of the States is impossible. There are, however, forces in operation which seek to reduce the States to administrative departments like those of France. There is an increasing tendency to regard a State as a mere geographical expression, rather than as a political division of the country. There ought to be, in every part of our country, not only a revival of knowledge of the Constitution, but a careful study and weighing of the opinions of the Fathers as they found expression in the debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution, and in the Conventions of the several States which ratified that instrument.

There is a constitutional and wholesome doctrine of State rights the maintenance of which is of the utmost importance to the continued welfare of the Republic. In the name of State rights certain extreme and disorganizing views were at one time promulgated, which the country received with disfavor. In our day, nullification is recognized as folly and secession as a crime. But it has been said that, because this folly and this crime were committed in the name of State rights, it would be folly to infer that the name may not have a good meaning and represent a useful thing.

If the Government is to endure, the people must steadfastly maintain two essential and fundamental principles: the first is, that the National Government possesses all the powers granted to it in the Constitution, either expressly or by necessary implication; and the second is, that the States possess all governmental powers not granted to the General Government or reserved to the people.

We are threatened with a revival of Federalism—a Federal-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism that is more extreme and radical than the leaders of the old Federal party ever countenanced. The argument proceeds on the assumption that the States have failed to perform their duty properly, so that great evils have grown up which the States cannot or will not remedy, and from which we should have been free if only the Federal Government had possessed the authority and not the States.

That the evils exist is conceded. That the States have not done their full duty also is conceded. But that the Federal Government would have done better is a mere assumption, and one I am not prepared to accept. Congress now has in the Territories and District of Columbia all the powers which the State Governments possess; yet the legislation respecting the corporations which Congress has enacted has not been better than the legislation of the States on the same subject. The laws of Congress have not secured publicity of accounts, nor prevented over-capitalization and stock-watering, and an adequate system of inspection has not been established over Federal corporations. The Union Pacific Railroad, with which Congress has been concerned, had, upon its reorganization in 1897, a share capital of $136,000,000, which at market prices was worth only $54,000,000, showing an estimated over-capitalization of $81,330,000. Congress has provided for the examination of the National Banks. But the inspection of the National Banks is not superior to the system which Massachusetts has established for the inspection of its State banks. The law of Massachusetts regulating insurance companies is as good as, and in some respects better than, that which the advocates of a Federal law endeavored to get Congress to enact a year or two ago. And about the time the President was declaring in messages to Congress that the States were incompetent to deal with the problem of insurance, the State of New York, under the guidance of its present Governor, enacted an admirable piece of legislation, superior to that which a president of a New Jersey insurance company, himself a Senator, was seeking to impose upon Congress, under the fallacious assumption that insurance was interstate commerce, the Supreme Court of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. During the present year, the same State, under the direction of the same Governor, has enacted a Public Utilities Law which, as a piece of constructive legislation intended to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

curb the public service corporations, is in advance of anything which has come from Congress respecting the corporations it has created, or over which it has control as the legislature for the Territories and the District of Columbia.

That in times past State Legislatures have been under the control of special interests is too true. But, unfortunately, so has Congress. One evidence of it is seen in the tariffs established from time to time. Under the pretence of protecting labor, tariffs have been fixed, not merely high enough to cover the difference in the cost of labor here and abroad, but far in excess thereof, and so high that the great mass of the people of this country have been exploited that the privileged few might build up enormous fortunes. The legislation has not been in the interest of the working-man nor for the benefit of the people as a whole, but quite the reverse. Those who have been benefited by such legislation have been certain privileged classes, the coal barons and the beef barons, the steel barons and the lumber barons, the sugar barons and tobacco barons of the country, who have been permitted by Congress to write the tariff laws of the United States.

Scandals there have been at times under the State Governments, and scandals likewise there have been under the Federal Government. Unfortunately, scandals are likely to arise under any government; for the men who are entrusted with public office are not always of high character or distinguished for probity. But the National Government has had its full share in the shame and disgrace occasioned by those who have betrayed their public trusts. Some years ago, Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, speaking in the Senate of the United States of a work authorized by Congress, said:

> "When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two great seas that wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three Committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud."

The fraud and corruption which have attended upon our dealings with the Indians extend through a century of dishonor. The memory of the Crédit Mobilier, of the Whiskey Ring and of the Star Route Ring has not faded out of mind. The revela-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion made a short time ago as to the corruption which existed in the Post-office Department and in the Agricultural Department are fresh in the public recollection, as are the frauds connected with the administration of the public lands. But recently, the President suspended the Public Printer on charges of mal-administration.

The tendency to take their domestic affairs from the control of the State is shown by the agitation in favor of a national incorporation law. It is assumed that the power to regulate commerce includes the right to regulate the corporation which is engaged in commerce. But if, under its power to regulate commerce, Congress can assume control over all corporations which engage in interstate commerce, it is difficult to see why it has not an equal right to assume a like control over all partnerships that do any interstate business, as well as over all individuals whose business is of a similar nature. In this way, Congress can take to itself jurisdiction over a very large part of the business of the country, withdrawing from the control of the States what always has been supposed to be within their peculiar province, and working a fundamental change in the character of the Government itself. It may be very seriously questioned whether the mere fact that a corporation or a partnership is engaged in interstate commerce affords any sound legal reason for assuming that Congress has the right to exercise an exclusive jurisdiction over every such corporation and partnership or individual who engages in interstate commerce, even though the interstate commerce may be but a part of the business of such corporation or partnership, as they may be likewise engaged in intrastate commerce. So that if the regulation of corporations is a regulation of interstate commerce it may be a regulation of intrastate commerce as well.

If Congress has jurisdiction over every corporation which to any extent engages in interstate commerce, what is there to prevent Congress from declaring that the vast properties which these corporations control shall not be taxed by the State Governments without the consent of Congress? The States cannot tax National Banks except to the extent authorized by the national banking law. If all corporations engaged in interstate commerce are to be compelled to incorporate under a national incorporation law, why may not Congress prohibit the States

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from taxing such corporations or the properties which they own? It is nothing to the purpose to say that Congress would never exercise the power. The fact that it could exercise the power, and might sometime do so to a greater or less extent, is one not lightly to be lost sight of, as these corporations own a very large proportion of the wealth of the country, the withdrawal of which from the taxing power of the States would be most mischievous, crippling the resources of the States and imposing new burdens of taxation on the individual citizen.

The disposition to extend the power of Congress beyond its constitutional limits and unduly to diminish the proper legislative authority of the States is farther exemplified in the passage by Congress in 1906 of the Employers' Liability Act. Congress assumed that, under its power to regulate commerce, it could pass the Act and apply it to all employees of common carriers engaged in interstate commerce, even though such employees rendered no service in the transportation of interstate commerce, such as engineers of local trains, section hands, mechanics in car and machine shops and clerks in offices. The Supreme Court in the Employers' Liability cases declared the law unconstitutional and denied the contention of the Attorney-General that where one engages in interstate commerce one thereby comes under the power of Congress as to all his business and may not complain of any regulation which Congress may choose to adopt.

The extreme to which advocates of the New Federalism go is shown in the proposal to enact the Beveridge Child-labor Law and make it applicable throughout the United States. The Supreme Court has decided that the power to regulate commerce does not confer power to regulate manufactures, as commerce and manufactures are not synonymous. But the advocates of the Bill asserted that the Government has the power to shut out from interstate business any article manufactured in violation of the Act. To assume that Congress can do this is to assume that it can regulate the hours of labor, the wages paid and prices charged by any factory in the United States for goods which are to find their way into interstate commerce. To assume that the Congress has any such power is to assume that American statesmen and American lawyers for a hundred and twenty years have not understood the Constitution of this country aright.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The excuse made for bringing a bill of this kind before Congress was that the States had not discharged their full duty in the matter. But if half of the States have not enacted a Child-labor Law, they are no more delinquent than Congress. No one questions that Congress has a constitutional right to make such a law applicable to the District of Columbia and for the Territories. It has, however, never done so, and the same condemnation which its advocates pronounce upon the States which have failed to enact such laws is as applicable to the Congress for a similar neglect within the limits of its unquestioned jurisdiction. Undoubtedly, there should be such a law in each State, and one already exists in a majority of the States.

Until recently, it had always been supposed that the Federal Government had no possessive title to the water flowing in navigable streams, nor to the lands composing their beds and shores. It had not been thought that Congress could grant any absolute authority to any one to use and occupy such water and land for manufacturing and industrial purposes. The theory has been that the Federal Government controlled navigable streams for the single purpose of preventing obstruction to navigation. The States have granted the use of these streams for power or irrigation purposes, and their action has always been understood to be subject to be reviewed by the Congress, but only to the extent of determining whether that which the States had authorized would constitute an interference with commerce. Now, apparently unmindful of an impressive line of decisions of the courts which assert the doctrine that the waters of a river and the waters of the arms of the sea belong to the States and not to the Federal Government, the President recently sent a message to the Congress asserting a right in the General Government to exact tolls for the use of the waters in navigable streams, and of his intention to veto all bills granting water-power rights which do not authorize the President or the Secretary concerned to collect such tolls as he may find to be just and reasonable. A Republican Senator properly characterized the doctrine as "the most far-reaching and over-reaching claim of power that ever was made in a government." And he added: "The Kings and Emperors claim no such rights in their lands."

The President of the United States has made known on various occasions his conviction that what the country needs is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"through executive action, through legislation and through judicial interpretation and construction, to increase the power of the Federal Government." His distinguished Secretary of State, one of the most eminent members of the American Bar, whose ability and patriotism no man calls in question, agrees with him. In one of his speeches, Mr. Secretary Root has said:

"It is useless for the advocates of State rights to inveigh against the supremacy of the constitutional laws of the United States or against the extension of national authority in the fields of necessary control, when the States themselves fail in the performance of their duty. The instinct for self-government among the people of the United States is too strong to permit them long to refute any one's right to exercise a power which he fails to exercise. The governmental control which they deem just and necessary they will have. It may be that such control would be better exercised in particular instances by the government of the States, but the people will have the control they need either from the States or from the National Government, and if the States fail to furnish it in due measure, sooner or later constructions of the Constitution will be found to vest the power where it will be exercised in the National Government."

In other words, centralization of power in the nation is to be accomplished not by amendment of the Constitution depriving States of the rights which now are theirs under the Constitution, but they are to be deprived of those rights by construction and interpretation. The revolutionary character of these utterances will be better understood if they are read in the light of the principles laid down by the leading authority on American Law. In his great work on Constitutional Limitations, Mr. Justice Cooley says:

"A Constitution is not to be made to mean one thing at one time, and another at some subsequent time when the circumstances may have so changed as perhaps to make a different rule in the case seem desirable. . . . A Court or Legislature which should allow a change in public sentiment to influence it in giving to a written Constitution a construction not warranted by the intention of its founders, would be justly chargeable with reckless disregard of official oath and public duty. . . . What a Court is to do, therefore, is to declare the law as written, leaving it to the people themselves to make such changes as new circumstances require. The meaning of the Constitution is fixed when it is adopted, and it is not different at any subsequent time when a Court has occasion to pass upon it."

Another distinguished commentator on the Constitution, Mr. Tucker, says:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The idea that usurpation, or necessity, or a supposed extension as the consequence of custom or progress of society, can make jural any power not constitutionally conferred is contrary to American political science, fatal to the liberties of the people and is only a wicked pretext for the violation of sworn obligations. Such an idea would really mean this—that persistent usurpation of power by a Government, acting under the prescribed limitations of a written Constitution, could amend and change that Constitution, which by its terms can only be amended by the body politic itself. It would make the Government a self-creator of its own powers, instead of the creation of the body politic with only delegated powers. It would take sovereignty from the people and vest it in the Government; and transfer all political authority by flagrant usurpation from the body politic to the omnipotent Government. Written Constitutions would be destroyed, and the self-usurped omnipotence of irresponsible government would be enacted upon their ruins."

This, it should be needless to say, is the doctrine of the Supreme Court. That Court has lately said:

"The Constitution is a written instrument; as such, its meaning does not alter. That which it meant when adopted, it means now. . . . Those things which are written within its grant of power, as those grants were understood when made, are still within them; and those things not within them remain still excluded. . . . As long as it continues to exist in its present form, it speaks not only in the same words, but with the same meaning and intent with which it spoke when it came from the hands of its framers."

To be told by men in high authority that the Constitution is to be changed by construction and interpretation, so that it shall mean something different from what it says and from what it has always been understood to mean, and from what it was intended to mean by those who framed and adopted it, is evidence of an extraordinary disregard of the accepted principles of courts and commentators.

The proposal to discard the idea that the Constitution always means the same thing, and to adopt the theory that the courts shall by construction make it mean what the people want it to mean or what the exigencies of the occasion may seem to require it to mean, is in effect to propose that the Supreme Court shall have the power, by a vote of five to four, to amend the instrument according to their views of what it is desirable it should mean. This power the courts are to have in order to give elasticity to the Constitution. The Constitution points out the method by which the people are to amend it when, in their judgment, it

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

needs amendment. But, as the people have not made much use of the amending power, it is concluded that instead of requiring a change in the Constitution to be ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, as the framers provided, it will be much the simpler and easier way just to permit the Supreme Court to make the change by construction, even though it be by a five to four vote, so construing the words used in the instrument as to give them, not the meaning which those who framed and adopted the instrument meant them to have, but the meaning which the majority of the Court may think that the people at that particular time most approve. To secure the approval of five of the judges of the Supreme Court may be less troublesome than to secure the approval of the Legislatures of thirty-four States. But any theory of construction which makes the Constitution mean what a majority of the people think at a given time it should mean, is certainly not in accordance with the law and the prophets. A Federal judge of an inferior court, in a paper read before the American Bar Association at Portland in August last, argued in support of this new theory. But, as Mr. Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court of the United States has said, those who hold to this theory are, "happily, few in number." Continuing, Justice Harlan declared that "such theories of constitutional construction find no support in judicial decisions or in sound reason, least of all in the final judgments of that tribunal whose greatest function is to declare the meaning and the scope of the fundamental law."

In weighing the arguments for national as against State control, it may be well to remember that a minority of the people not only may elect, but since 1856 more frequently have elected, the President. In the States, on the other hand, the Governors are more generally chosen by a majority vote of the electors. Including 1856, there have been thirteen Presidential elections, and in only six out of thirteen did the successful candidate secure a majority of the popular vote. On the other hand, during the same period the State of New York has held thirty-five gubernatorial elections, and the successful candidate obtained a majority of votes in all but five of them. Under our system, it has not only happened that during the past fifty years the President has generally been chosen by a minority of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people, but that the minority party has in some instances gained the House of Representatives and by a large majority. For example, in 1860 the Republican party elected its candidate for President although he had but forty per cent. of the popular vote, and at the same time it elected sixty per cent. of the members chosen to the House. In 1892, the Democratic party elected its candidate for President although he had but forty-five per cent. of the popular vote, and at the same time it elected sixty-two per cent. of the members of the House. And it has happened, as in 1876, that one party elected the President and the other carried the House of Representatives. It is a fact, therefore, that under our system of elections the President and Congress are not as liable to represent the majority of the people of the entire country as are the Governors and Legislators of the States to represent the majority of the voters of their respective States.

The people of the United States cannot possibly act with the same promptness and directness as are possible to the people of a single State. It takes longer for public opinion to form and make itself felt among eighty-five millions of people, scattered over a continent and having interests widely dissimilar, than in a single State where the people are more closely associated and where their interests are less divergent. The ease with which a State Constitution may be amended and the difficulty which has been found to exist in amending the Constitution of the United States afford instructive illustration upon the point under consideration. The smaller the unit of government, the more prompt, direct and intelligent its action is likely to be.

Congress might enact legislation which may be injurious to particular sections of the country without responsibility to the States affected. An act may be passed which is harmful to the interests of New York, and which its representatives in the Senate and the House unanimously oppose, and the people of the State are absolutely remediless. If the same act had been passed by the Legislature of the State, those responsible for it could be turned out of power at the next election and the law repealed by their successors. But the Senators from Idaho and California owe no responsibility to any other Legislature than their own, and the representatives in Congress from Texas are ac-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countable only to the people of Texas. For this reason it is of the utmost importance that the powers of Congress should be restricted to matters which affect all parts of the country alike. It should not be possible for other States to govern, say, New York, except in those matters which are essential to the common welfare of all the States.

The American people, in their desire to remedy existing abuses and to avert the dangers which menace them, should not revolutionize the Governments which the Fathers established. The rights of the States, as well as the rights of the Nation, must be preserved.

The time is opportune to recall the opinion expressed by Mr. Justice Miller in his Lectures on the Constitution. That great judge said:

"While the pendulum of public opinion has swung with much force away from the extreme point of the State's rights doctrine, there may be danger of its reaching an extreme point on the other side. In my opinion, the just and equal observance of the rights of the States and of the General Government, as defined by the present Constitution, is as necessary to the permanent prosperity of our country, and to its existence for another century, as it has been for the one whose close we are now celebrating."

Speaking of State rights, Mr. Webster declared:

"It is this balance between the General and State Governments which has preserved the country in unexampled prosperity for fifty years; and the destruction of this just balance will be the destruction of our Government. What I believe to be the doctrine of State rights I hold as firmly as any man. . . . I say again that the upholding of State rights, on the one hand, and of the just powers of Congress on the other, is indispensable to the preservation of our free republican government."

A few years after the Civil War ended, Mr. Beecher, speaking for national unity, emphasized the importance of maintaining the rights of the States, and of the local Governments of the States. He said:

"New England, from her earliest Colonial days, with a fervor and intensity that have never been surpassed, preserved inviolate the one political doctrine which will enable this vast nation, if anything will enable it, to maintain Federal unity; and that doctrine is the rights of States. . . . This simple doctrine of State rights, not State sovereignty, will carry good government with it through all the continent. No central government could have sympathy and wise administrative adaptation to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the local peculiarities of this huge nation, couched down between two oceans, whose southern line never freezes and whose northern boundary never melts."

And Mr. Justice Harlan in December last expressed the opinion that "The American people are more determined than at any time in their history to maintain both National and State rights, as those rights exist under the Union ordained by the Constitution." He added that if the trend in public affairs to-day is towards the centralization of governmental power in the nation and the destruction of the rights of the States, it would be the duty of every American to resist such a tendency by every means in his power. He thought that a National Government for national affairs, and State Governments for State affairs, is the foundation rock upon which our institutions rest, and that any serious departure from that principle would bring disaster upon the American people and upon the American system of free government.

The writers on political institutions have pointed out many times the advantages of local government over centralized government. They have taught us that local self-government develops an energetic citizenship, and centralization an enervated one; that local self-government is conducive to the steady progress of society, and that centralization involves conditions which are unsound and do not make for the progress of society; that under local self-government officials exist for the benefit of the people, and that under centralization the people exist for the benefit of the officials; that local self-government provides for the political education of the people, and that centralization, based upon the principle that everything is to be done for the people rather than by the people, creates a spirit of dependence which dwarfs the intellectual and moral faculties and incapacitates for citizenship; that local self-government exerts an influence which invigorates, and centralization an influence which blights; that the basis of local self-government is confidence in the people, while the fundamental idea of centralization is distrust of the people; that local self-government fixes responsibility for wrongs and renders a redress for grievances practicable; that no responsibility anywhere exists under a system of centralization and that redress is difficult to obtain for acts of commission or omission; that under local self-government every in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dividual has a part to perform and a duty to discharge in public affairs, while under a centralized government one's affairs are managed by others.

The noblest system of political institutions the world has known, and the most conducive to the happiness and welfare of mankind, is that of local self-government. It has been said that "to centralize is the act and trick of despots, to decentralize is the necessary wisdom of those who love good government."

The preservation to the local community of the right to manage its own affairs must be recognized as essential to the permanent well-being of the Republic.

Local self-government has been described by a political philosopher as that "system of government under which the greatest number of minds, knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it." Centralization has been described as that "system of government under which the smallest number of minds, or those knowing the least, and having the fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it."

An immense amount of wretched misgovernment might have been avoided, according to John Fiske, if all Legislators and all voters had those two wholesome maxims engraven upon their minds.

HENRY WADE ROGERS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY CHARLES W. LARNED, UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY.

THE opportunities for testing the efficiency of public-school instruction throughout the country are exceptionally good at the two Government institutions at West Point and Annapolis. Probably nowhere else can the general effectiveness of our public schools be so well gauged as at these Academies. Their candidates are drawn from every Congressional District of every State and Territory in the Union, and largely from the class of our citizens who send their children to the primary and high schools supported by the States.

The Military Academy at West Point has been recruiting from this source for about a century, and its experience, therefore, covers the period during which the public-school system was in its elementary stage of development, as well as the intermediary and later phases of its organization. For many years—up to 1870—the examinations for entrance were oral and primary in character, and until 1866 their requirements covered only:

> "To be able to read distinctly and pronounce correctly; to write a fair legible hand; to perform with facility and accuracy the various operations of the ground rules of arithmetic, both simple and compound; also those of reduction, of single and compound proportion; vulgar and decimal fractions."

These primary requirements were framed to meet the primitive conditions of the beginning of the last century, which prohibited any test of a character so advanced as to throw out those regions, vast in extent, which were without educational facilities, or in which these were crudely organized. The Academy adapted its needs to these conditions by establishing the real test of entrance to its curriculum in the results of its first and semi-annual examination in January.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There was always a reluctance on the part of Congress, as well as of the authorities in Washington, to increase the entrance requirements, upon the supposition that such a procedure would put at a disadvantage the poor boy who, either from the necessities of his surroundings or from lack of school facilities, was unable to prepare himself for a more advanced test. It was not until 1866, when the school system had become thoroughly established throughout the Union, that Congress consented to add to the entering requirements:

"A knowledge of the elements of English Grammar; of Descriptive Geography, particularly of our own country; and of the History of the United States."

Even with this increase, the standard was still of such an elementary character that candidates were admitted to the Academy under requirements corresponding to the studies in the first or second classes of a primary grammar-school, and at once undertook a course of study corresponding to that of an advanced technological institution. This anomalous state of affairs operated injuriously, and for long the academic authorities made ineffectual efforts to secure an advance, but it was only in 1901 that Congress consented to change the law so as to place the determination of the entrance standard in the hands of the Secretary of War.

After some modifications of the subjects and methods of examination established under this authorization, and some years of experiment with the certificate system, the standard now established requires of all candidates, besides the physical examination, a written examination in the following subjects: Elementary Algebra through Quadratics; Plane Geometry; English Grammar; English Literature and Composition (very elementary); United States History (High School); General History (High School); Geography (Descriptive, Common School).

Although this standard is a very great advance over that of the early days of its career, it will be seen that the Military Academy still exacts very much less than technological institutions of a corresponding grade throughout the country, and that the requirements of such an examination are no more than should be easily met by the graduates of any well-organized high school. As a matter of fact, the greater portion of it is covered by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

earlier years of the high-school course, and some of it by the last year of the grammar-schools.

The first application of the new standard took place in March of the present year, and the results are very depressing, and afford an extremely interesting and somewhat pathetic commentary upon the general efficiency of public-school methods throughout the country. They indicate a lack of thoroughness and a weakness in methods of instruction which must result in a vast waste of time on the part of a great portion of the student body. It is a saddening reflection that a child and youth should be kept under servitude in the treadmill of mental instruction for so many years of the joyous period of life, with a result as meager and inadequate in proportion to the sacrifice and effort as that demonstrated in so many of the cases under consideration. If education is a thing worth doing, either for the individual or for the State, it is certainly worth doing well, and is defensible as an exaction only in proportion to the excellence of the results obtained. If the results obtained from these examinations are to be accepted as a criterion, the conclusion is inevitable that the ten or twelve years consumed in their production are not well spent, and that the youth in these cases have not received a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. It is to be remembered that the objective in this apprenticeship to learning has been almost wholly a mental one. The body and the character have been held to be quite subordinate and, under the system as organized, necessarily so. In fact, the body has been made subsidiary to the development of the mind, and its vitality has been drawn upon and strained in order to attain the conventional exaction of the text-book. Children and young men whose natural environment and occupation are fresh air and exercise have been cooped up for many hours in close rooms, often with inadequate ventilation and vitiated air, in cramped attitudes droning over unwelcome tasks. As a rule no attention has been given to compensating for this by sufficient systematic exercise. This is defensible only, as I have just said, in proportion to the resulting value both to the individual and to the State. What is that result? Here is one answer; and the conditions under which it has been attained have been fully explained. I give it for what it is worth.

There were 351 candidates for entrance to the Military Acad-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emy on March 1st of the current year, including alternates. Of these, 37 were exempt from the examinations, having previously passed them, leaving 314 who were examined. The papers are marked at these examinations on a scale of 100 as a maximum; 66 being the normal minimum standard of proficiency. The examinations are written, and abundant time is given for their completion, even by those of inferior capacity and preparation. Candidates who can show cause, through sickness or other interference, for failure in any or all subjects are permitted to make written statements to that effect, which are duly considered by the Academic Board. Each candidate is required to fill out a descriptive sheet in which a great variety of personal data is exacted, covering antecedents, birth, appointment, educational advantages, subjects studied, occupation, etc. It is from these sheets that I have been enabled to compile the statistics here given, which present a rather remarkable analysis of the status of the student body from which the Academy recruits its undergraduate personnel.

The theory upon which the Military Academy operates in establishing its standard of proficiency is that deficiency in one subject constitutes deficiency in the course, and entails discharge. While this is not rigidly adhered to in the course in all cases, yet cadets are frequently discharged for deficiency in one subject; and, where further examination is permitted, if not made good, discharge is the normal consequence. In the entering examinations, consequently, serious deficiency in one subject would cause rejection under normal conditions.

Out of 314 who took the entering examinations this year, 265, or 84 per cent., failed in one or more subjects (that is, made a mark below the normal minimum, 66); 56 failed in one only; 64, in two; 50, in three; 42, in four; 27, in five; 26, in all subjects. Two hundred and nine, or 66 per cent., failed in two or more subjects; 145, or 46 per cent., in three or more; 95, or 30 per cent., in four or more; 53, or 17 per cent., in five or more; 26, or 8 per cent., in everything.

Examining the failures by subjects, it appears that 154 failed in Algebra, 44 per cent.; 237, in Geometry, 67 per cent.; 129, in Grammar, 37 per cent.; 144, in Composition and Literature, 40 per cent.; 73, in Geography, 21 per cent.; 54, in History, 15 per cent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Regarding low marks: In Algebra, 54 made from 0 to 40; in Geometry, 159 made from 0 to 40; in Grammar, 87 made from 0 to 60; in Geography, 46 made from 0 to 60; in History, 40 made from 0 to 60; in Composition and Literature, 50 made from 0 to 50.

Comparing figures by States, we have:

	* Examined.	† Failed.		* Examined.	† Failed.
Alabama	9	6	New Hampshire	6	3
Arkansas	10	6	New Jersey	8	5
California	10	8	New York	37	20
Colorado	6	5	North Carolina	4	4
Connecticut	9	5	North Dakota	0	0
Delaware	2	1	Ohio	14	10
Dist. of Columbia	2	1	Oklahoma	11	9
Florida	2	1	Oregon	3	1
Georgia	3	2	Pennsylvania	17	11
Idaho	3	3	Porto Rico	1	1
Illinois	12	10	South Carolina	9	4
Indiana	7	3	South Dakota	3	1
Iowa	8	4	Tennessee	5	1
Kansas	9	6	Texas	10	7
Kentucky	6	2	Utah	1	0
Louisiana	7	6	Vermont	1	0
Maine	2	2	Virginia	9	4
Maryland	7	5	Washington	3	2
Massachusetts	22	16	West Virginia	3	1
Michigan	10	9	Wisconsin	7	5
Minnesota	6	3	U. S. at Large	19	9
Mississippi	10	9	Costa Rica	1	0
Missouri	10	7			
Montana	2	2	Total	351	223
Nebraska	5	3			

Out of the 314 examined mentally it appears that 295, or 90 per cent., have been educated in public schools, and that the average number of years of attendance in these schools was 9 years, 11 months. Separating this into primary and secondary attendance, we find that the average attendance in High Schools was 3 years, 3 months; and in Grammar Schools, 6 years, 8 months.

One hundred and three candidates had private schooling wholly or in part; 135 had college education of one year or more; 189 studied the classics. Of the 135 who had gone so far as a college education of one year or more, 82 failed to enter.

Eighty-two failed and were rejected on physical examination,

* Includes those who were not examined mentally, but physically only, so that the percentage of mental failure is higher than indicated by figures.

† To enter. Some of those who failed mentally were admitted, the normal standard having been lowered to admit the best of the deficients.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and 18 were placed on probation; making a total of 100 physically defective, or nearly 30 per cent., out of a grand total of 351. Of this total, it is interesting to note that 206 had earned their living either wholly or in part.

Altogether, it is a sorry showing from whatever standpoint it is viewed, and it is not greatly mitigated by the fact that, owing to the recent change in the conditions, there was three or four months' less time than usual to prepare for the examinations by special cramming. This loss is partly offset by a reduction in the number of subjects examined upon. These young men are selected by the nominating powers presumably with reference to their moral, mental and physical fitness for the severe career of the Academy. Many of them secured their nominations through competitive examination; and few, if any, could have been taken haphazard, with no regard to qualification and antecedents; while all could have employed some nine months in private preparation. That 314 youths, nearly all trained in our costly public schools, with an average of almost ten years' attendance (supplemented in the case of one-third of their number by private schooling, and in the case of 43 per cent. by college training) should show 84 per cent. of failure and the various deficiencies analyzed above, is surely a state of affairs that should make the judicious grieve and our educators sit up and take notice. That about 30 per cent. of these lads were physically unfit is, perhaps, the most serious feature of the exhibit.

It will be noted that the weakness of the school system here demonstrated is by no means a function of locality or peculiar to the younger and more sparsely settled regions. It is universal. An inspection of the table of failures by States shows that New York had 20 failures out of 37 candidates; Pennsylvania, 11 out of 17; Massachusetts, 16 out of 22; New Jersey, 5 out of 8; Ohio, 10 out of 14; Illinois, 10 out of 12; while Iowa had but 4 out of 8; Minnesota, 3 out of 6; Tennessee, 1 out of 5; Kansas, 6 out of 9; Nebraska, 3 out of 5. The number of mental failures in some cases is greater for the reason given above that these figures show only failures to enter, and omit those who partly failed mentally, but were allowed to enter.

It is instructive to examine some of the cases of failure with reference to their school attendance and the locality in which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they received instruction. It is to be observed that gross failures are by no means confined to the Western and newer States, but that the East, where public-school systems are oldest and have received their highest development, furnishes a fair quota of shocking examples:

Candidate "A," from Pennsylvania, who had attended eight years at a public grammar-school and was a graduate in the scientific course of a high school—having studied Algebra, Geometry (plane and solid), Physics, Rhetoric, Latin, German, Botany, Zoology, General History, etc.—made in this preliminary examination for West Point, in Algebra 55; in Geometry 35; in English Grammar 62; in Composition and Literature 56; in Geography 79; in History 83. He was, therefore, deficient in four out of the six subjects.

Candidate "B," from the same State, with a record of eight years at a grammar-school and three years and two months at a high school, failed in four subjects, with a mark of 37 in Algebra; 14 in Geometry; 56 in English Grammar; 49 in Composition and Literature.

"C," from New York, had been seven years in a grammar-school and six years in a high school, having taken a post-graduate course in the latter. He made in Algebra 30; in Geometry 21; in English Grammar 57; in Composition and Literature 57; in Geography 73; in General History 46. He was of the opinion that the causes of the French Revolution were "jealosy"; and, of the Reformation, "that the Church and Subject and its laws be under the head or rule of the King, but which was not approved by the Pope. Later it was carried out by the King and no more tribute paid to Rome." He knew nothing whatever of the causes, outcome or effects of our War for the Union, and he could not name the seceding States.

"D," from Ohio, had attended grammar-school for nine years, and public high school for three years and three months; he had attended also a private high school. He made in Algebra .01; in Geometry 16; in English Grammar 50; in Composition and Literature 54; in Geography 70; and in History 62. He was deficient in five subjects.

"E," from Ohio, had studied eight years in grammar-school, two years and eight months in high school, and six months in normal school. He made in Algebra 31; in Geometry 12; in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grammar 59; in Composition and Literature 76; in Geography 55; in History 68. He was deficient in four subjects.

"F," from New Jersey, had been ten years in grammar-school, and five months at a technological high school. He made in Algebra 33; in Geometry 15; in Grammar 36; in Composition and Literature 46; in Geography 52; in History 52—failing in everything. He was under the impression that the Seine is in Northern Russia; the Ebro in Western France. He writes "orbet," "gess," "orther," "cival," "barbarious," "cural" (for "cruel"), etc. He conceives of Rome as embracing "all Italy the Holy Land or Jeruselam"; and of Feudalism, as "one family making war on another in their castles"; of the War of the Roses as between Cromwell and the King; of the Reformation as the changing by the people from "the evil ways to a more christian way of living." He is severe on the Inquisition, which he reprobates as "barbarious methods resorted to in order to try and a person's religion. thees methods were very cural." As to the causes of the War for the Union, he judges that "slavery was the main aggitation. So Carolina done most of the disputting and finely ceceeded"—which cannot be gainsaid. His grammar is no less original in conception. "If—is an infinitive. It give ground to make the sentence possible and if removed causes to become inoperative."

"G," from Massachusetts, had been three years in grammar-school and four years in high school. He was also a graduate of an institute for industrial foremen, but was, nevertheless, deficient in four subjects.

"H," from Massachusetts, who had been nine years in a grammar-school and two years and five months in a high school, was deficient in four subjects.

"I," from Massachusetts, had been eight years in a grammar-school, four years in a technical high school and one year in a training-school—*thirteen years in all.* He had studied Algebra, Trigonometry, Geometry, History, Physiology, French and English Composition, Mechanical Drawing and Machine Design. He made in Algebra 21; in Geometry .03; in Grammar 45; in Composition and Literature 52; in Geography 66; and in History 53, being deficient in everything but Geography. This young gentleman knew nothing of Grecian History and very little about any other, and asserted that "Alexander the Great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a Roman Commander, conquered Gaul, North Africa, Greece, Persia and Palestine."

"J," from Michigan, after ten years and five months in the public schools, was deficient in every subject; his marks being, in order, 29, 20, 53, 49, 24, 42. In his diversified views of history, Marathon and Thermopylæ were decided in favor of the Romans, and the causes of the Persian Wars were "that Greek was starting to move up in Asia and the Persians wouldnt allow it." He goes at once to the root of the causes of the French Revolution, which were that "King Louis didn't tend to business and France was going to ruin. Then he was very mean and mobs began to form." Regarding the Reformation, we are informed that it "was in England when the trouble of the churches was over. The leader was Queen Elizabeth." Among other items, "Vera Cruz was fought with Chile"; and, in the Spanish War of 1898, "Spain was trying to work the people of Cuba but the U. S. wouldn't stand for it. Then Spain had the Maine blown up and that tapped the climax." His system of Geography is pre-Ptolemaic. "The change of season is caused by the moving of the Sun. When the Sun is at the Equator it is Spring here. When the Sun is half way between the Equator and the North Pole it is Summer here. When the Sun is at this point it moves back causing the change of seasons. The zones are divided into four different parts; hot climate, cool climate, warm climate and cold climate. The hot climate goes north from the Equator to about the southern part of Florida, warm climate goes to St. Louis or around the Meridian; and the cool climate goes to about 100 miles in Canada; then the cold climate. . . . the Equator and other lines. The principle curves that determine their location are that they either tell where the Sun is or how the World is devided."

"K," from Arkansas, after ten years in the public schools, was convinced that "Alexander the Great was an English General." He knew nothing of Greece, Rome, Feudalism, the Norman Conquest, the French Revolution or the Reformation, and named West Virginia, Tennessee and Florida as among the thirteen colonies. Gettysburg occurred in a British War.

"L," from Alabama, after ten years' schooling at the public expense and after reaching the Sophomore class in college, gave

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up the ghost in four subjects—Algebra, Geometry, Grammar and Geography.

"M," a young man from Mississippi, of good family, after eight years of mental effort—five in the grammar-school and three in the high school—made a clean sweep of every subject. In a buoyant flight over the fields of general history, he finds Athens and Sparta "on the Tigress." His memorandum on the Spanish Inquisition is a model of succinct statement: "Spanish King tried to make every one join the Catholic Church, but the Spaniards protested against it and was carried as planed by the King." In Geography, he is without bias or partiality. Cape Cod is assigned to the Eastern coast of North America; Lookout, to the Northeast coast of Brazil; Hancock, to Japan. The Ganges goes to South America; the Ebro, to Austria; the Seine, to England; the Dneiper, to Canada. Hongkong does duty as the capital of Japan—a sinister suggestion; Cuba settles west of the Philippine Islands, with Hawaii just north; while the Congo River, disgusted with the performances of His Belgian Majesty, flees sadly to China.

Thirty per cent. of physical deficiency in our youth is a condition of our civilization which may well give concern, more especially in view of the increasing tendency of population to urban centres. What are we going to do about it? Does education have anything to do with it; and, if so, what does an educational system amount to that shows this percentage of deficiency in its output? If education is concerned with mental development alone, it is fair to ask: If 16,596,503 boys and girls, taught in our public schools at a cost of $376,996,472, average no better in intellectual attainments than is evidenced by the foregoing, does the result justify the outlay and the ten or more years' apprenticeship of youth it demands?

But public education surely does have something to do with the physical well-being of our children, and the benefit to the community of its systematic occupation with their development and care in this regard is in no respect inferior to the importance of its function as a mind-trainer. If the standard of mind-development is that here shown, then most assuredly ten years of systematic body-training would produce a benefit to the average child vastly superior. The millions of poor, anæmic, underdeveloped, city-bred children can be rescued from the degrading

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conditions of their environment and transformed into healthy, high-minded, clean-bodied human beings, under the operation of intelligent body-training and athletic instruction. Their morals and their civic virtues will also be exalted *pari passu,* and public education will then be fulfilling its tripartite function as a trainer of character, of the mind and of the body. That this is practicable and practical has been magnificently demonstrated by the work of The Public School Athletic League. The American people owe a debt of gratitude whose value can hardly be exaggerated to the originator, prime mover and president of this great organization, General George W. Wingate, of New York City. He has not only demonstrated how physical education can be introduced, organized and made effective in public instruction, but he has proved its immense power as an agent in moral uplift and mental stimulus. Every citizen who has at heart the well-being of the community in the education of its youth should read the report of the League, co-operate in every possible way to promote its growth, and insist that its functions shall be incorporated by law in the public-school system everywhere. It is inspiring to see what wonders can be accomplished by persistent effort against discouraging conditions, and how rapidly the whole body of neglected childhood has responded to this appeal to its human nature. The result is more than reform; it is revolution, and holds a brighter promise for the future than anything that has been effected in education in modern times.

CHARLES W. LARNED.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GEORGE MEREDITH.*

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

THE recent celebration of the eightieth birthday of the dean of English novelists, and the extraordinary tributes thereby called forth from the leading men and women of letters of the Engling-speaking race, challenge the attention of thoughtful students of contemporary art and thought. The belated efflorescence of the fame of George Meredith, this sudden twilight emergence from the shrine of submerged renown to the pedestal of acknowledged fame, warrants the suspicion, and indeed quite patently provokes the question, as to whether the standard of taste and the ethical tone of our time are not at last discovering in him a true spokesman and interpreter. It is a neglected, rather than a forgotten, fact that the ideas prevailing at any particular period are of two distinct classes. On the one hand, there are the ideas which are in everybody's mind—the clamant topics of popular discussion, wide dissemination and general acceptance. On the other hand, the really fertile and germinating ideas which overleap the boundaries of the present and, being endowed with prophetic potency, herald and announce the future, are known to only a few, and are recognized by them as the ideas which the world must shortly be induced to ponder. Not ideas only, but standards of art and the laws of taste, furnish exemplification of this bipartite evolutional phenomenon. It is difficult to parry the conclusion that George Meredith's fame strengthens its claim upon posterity by reason of long-delayed acknowledgment. The educative influence of his fictive achievement, so arabesque, so fantastically kaleidoscopic, so ravishingly

* "The Pocket Edition of the Works of George Meredith." In 16 volumes. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tortuous, yet withal so clear-visioned, so intense and so hardily sane, has been imperceptibly if glacially slow and sure. It is not too much to say that, in the large sense, the discrepancy between his recognition and his deserts in the past is to be explained by the fact that he was ahead of, rather than behind, his age. His tutelage in self-discipline, his devotion to the law of the "stern-exact" and his fidelity to the instinctive integrity of his taste rather than to the clamor of popular authority, assured him a serene passage through the ordeal of public reprobation, indifference and neglect. In his own words:

"Ye that nourish hopes of fame!
Ye who would be known in song!
Ponder old History, and duly frame
Your souls to meek acceptance of the thong.

"Lo! of hundreds who aspire
Eighties perish—nineties tire!
They who bear up, in spite of wrecks and wracks,
Were seasoned by celestial hail of thwacks.

"Fortune in this mortal race
Builds on thwackings for its base;
Thus the All-Wise doth make a flail a staff,
And separates his heavenly corn from chaff."

Meredith persevered heroically in the resolution "to paint man man, whatever the issue." And while we rejoice to-day in the discovery that the "heavenly corn" has at last been separated from the "chaff," the confession remains to be made that the "*thwackings*" were — oh! *distinctly* — "*terrestrial*." "If the gods showed their love for Shelley by causing him to die young," Mr. Trevelyan pointedly remarks, "they have shown their love for Mr. Meredith in a more satisfactory manner, by leaving him to receive from us in old age the homage that was due to him from our grandfathers." *

The intermingled strains of Irish and Welsh blood in Meredith's veins, derived respectively from mother and father, doubtless serve to account in part for his fantastic *esprit*, as well as for his reverential attitude toward Nature. The fact that he was born and has lived in England finds equally persistent verifica-

* "The Poetry and Philosophy of George Meredith." By G. M. Trevelyan. Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1906.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion in his novels; and the temptation to attribute undue influence to German thought in his work because of his early studies at a Moravian school in Neuwied, Germany, is rather to be resisted than yielded to. If property was left him as a boy, certain it is that, when he returned to London from his studies in Germany, he found himself compelled to wage strenuous warfare in *la lutte pour la vie*. Poverty, and not vegetarianism, enforced the possibly supposititious bowl of oatmeal upon which he is said to have lived daily for several months. Unlike Ibsen, his exact contemporary, he had no first unsold edition to turn over to the street-huxter in exchange for the price of a hearty meal; and he found himself as little attached to the profession of law, to which he first devoted his attention, as was Ibsen to the profession of pharmacy. For seven or eight years, during the late fifties and early sixties, journalism claimed his services; and we find him contributing regularly to the "Ipswich Journal" and occasionally to the "Morning Post." Noteworthy connection is found between his interest in Mazzini and Austria's Italy, as exemplified in his novel "Emilia," and his service as correspondent for the "Morning Post" during the Austro-Italian war of 1866. Serving both a journalistic and literary apprenticeship, conducting the "Fortnightly Review" in the latter part of 1867 during the absence of his friend John Morley in America, and acting for many years as reader and literary adviser to Messrs. Chapman and Hall, Meredith gradually lifted the incubus of debt, and acquired that freedom for intensive concentration to which we owe his solidest contributions to English letters. In his very first work, published in 1856, appears this stanza—startling anticipation of Omar's Rubaiyat as translated by Fitz-Gerald:

> "Thou that dreamest an event,
> While circumstance is but a waste of sand
> Arise, take up thy fortunes in thy hand,
> And daily forward pitch thy tent."

So we see him "daily forward pitch his tent," and, taking his literary fortunes in his hand, seek ultimate self-realization in temporary self-sacrifice. His first great poem, "Modern Love," envisages in some sense the disappointment of his first marriage —with the witty young widow, Mrs. Nicholls, daughter of the author of "Crotchet Castle," Thomas Love Peacock. In 1862,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after her death, he went to live for a short time with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Rossetti and Swinburne, on Cheyne Walk of Carlylean memory.

Meredith was afterwards married again; his second wife died in 1885 and is buried near his present home of Box Hill. His life in his sylvan retreat in Surrey, with the immediate companionship of his wife, his two sons and a young daughter, was varied by weekly visits to London, where he carried on his affairs and enjoyed social intercourse with a coterie which numbered among its members Swinburne, James Thomson, Justin MacCarthy, John Morley and Lady Duff Gordon. Undismayed by the conviction that he was writing for an immediate audience, apathetic if not actually antipathetic to his work, he produced book after book, marked by sanity of utterance, philosophic poise and an artistic individuality which must needs ultimately compel recognition. In "Beauchamp's Career" we read:

"My way is like a Rhone island in the summer drought, stony, unattractive and difficult between the two forceful streams of the unreal and the overreal. My people conquer nothing, win none; they are actual yet uncommon. It is the clockwork of the brain that they are directed to set in motion, and—poor troop of actors to vacant benches—the conscience residing in thoughtfulness which they would appeal to; and if you are there impervious to them, we are lost; back I go to my wilderness, where, as you perceive, I have contracted the habit of listening to my own voice more than is good."

His attitude toward the public, despite an early utterance or two, is one neither of condescending superiority nor of embittered disappointment, but rather of forthright recognition of the fact that the spirit of his thoughtful laughter has not found permanent lodgment in the British intelligence. "The English people know nothing about me," Meredith once said; "there always has been something antipathetic between them and me. With book after book it was always the same outcry of censure and disapproval. The first time or two I minded it. Since, I have written to please myself." * In the America which gave the world a Howells and a James, and which to-day produces a Mrs. Wharton and a Mrs. Atherton for his delectation, Meredith found a more congenial and appreciative audience; and, only the other day, he said: "They have always liked me better

* Henry W. Nevinson, in the "Daily Chronicle," July 5, 1905.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in America. They don't care about me in England." Significant, indeed, is the circumstance that those two brilliant and whimsical examples of Celtic wit, paradox, fantasy and imagination, radical, rationalistic and *intransigéant,* George Meredith and Bernard Shaw, found their sincerest appreciation and recognition, neither in the land of their adoption nor in the land of their nativity, but in a land upon which they had never set foot. America anticipated England in her appreciation of Wagner, as to-day it outranks England in appreciation of Ibsen; and the catholicity of American taste finds further verification in its saner, more balanced appreciation of Great Britain's greatest living novelist, George Meredith.

Ibsen's reply to the charge that his "Peer Gynt" was not poetry is historic. "My book *is* poetry," he wrote to Georg Brandes in 1867; "and if it is not, then it will be. The conception of poetry in our country, in Norway, shall be made to conform to the book." While such a defiance is wholly alien to Meredith's spirit, it is nevertheless true that he has based his hope upon the alteration of public taste in regard to the function and art of fiction. He wrote to the author of an article in the "Harvard Monthly":

> "When at the conclusion of your article on my works you say that a certain change in public taste, should it come about, will be to some extent due to me, you hand me the flowering wreath I covet. For I think that all right use of life, and the one secret of life, is to pave ways for the firmer footing of those who succeed us; and, as to my works, I know them faulty, think them of worth only when they point and aid to that end. Close knowledge of our fellows, discernment of the laws of existence, these lead to great civilization. I have supposed that the novel exposing and illustrating the history of man may help us to such sustaining roadside gifts."

Meredith's purpose is to dilate the imagination, to "arouse the inward vision" to a recognition of the limitations of human character, and upon such recognition to base veracious records of contemporary existence.

It is now many years since Thomas Hardy first said that the novel had taken a turn for analyzing, rather than depicting, character and emotion. The contemporary reader is no longer allowed to cherish the comfortable feeling that a novel is a novel as a pudding is a pudding, in Mr. Henry James's phrase, and that our only business with it would be to swallow it! Physical

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and material action no longer usurps the position of primary interest; the casual and the adventitious play rôles of decreasing, and ever-decreasing, importance; and the "story," once thought supreme, has come to occupy a subsidiary place in a fiction concerned less with actual events themselves, than with the subtle, and oftentimes indescribably complex, motives and impulses which prompt to action. Even passion, if unanimated by thought, or intelligent choice, ceases to hold the attention of the world as formerly: the soul has her histories as well as the body. "A psychological reason is, to my imagination, an object adorably pictorial," says Mr. Henry James, "to catch the tints of its complexion, I feel as if that idea might inspire one to Titianesque effects. There are few things more exciting to me, in short, than a psychological reason." Throughout Meredith's entire work, whether poetry or fiction, it is "the conscience residing in thoughtfulness" to which he consistently appeals. "Narrative is nothing," he frankly admits. "It is the mere vehicle of philosophy. The interest is in the idea which action serves to illustrate."

In this remark lies the germ of Meredith's philosophy of fiction, or perhaps it would be equally accurate to say, his fiction of philosophy. The strength of his position is the result of his hardy sanity in resisting both the extravagant blandishments of idealism and the morbid fascinations of realism. If at times he mounts the Hippogriff and soars lightly away to roseate regions of air, it is but a momentary prank of the Celtic troll, flirting with the Daemon of the Epoch. If at other times his justice, untempered by mercy, wrings our hearts as if in stern cruelty, it is not the naturalistic "mutilation of humanity," bitterly complained of by Brunetière, with which Meredith visits us, but a hardy lesson in the practice of self-mastery, through which his characters masterfully "find themselves." Uniting within himself the romantic instinct with the realistic sense of character, Meredith early made the discovery that fiction must be neither mere fanciful narrative nor realistically objective elaboration, but rational, clear-visioned interpretation of the facts and materials of existence. He has suffered sadly for his boldness in maintaining that fiction is more instructive than life. Even Wilde, who admired him extravagantly and showed his influence, was driven to say: "As a writer, he has mastered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

everything except language; as a novelist, he can do everything except tell a story; as an artist, he is everything except articulate."

It is true in a sense that art is really a form of exaggeration; for "selection, which is the very spirit of art, is nothing more than an intensified mode of over-emphasis." Not the least significant of Meredith's claims to high consideration is his faith in, and practice of, the doctrine that Art without Thought is dead. Romance alone gives us idealization of life unfortified by the realities of every-day existence. Realism alone presents the epidermis of reality, exhibiting facts unillumined by the reasoning spirit. The function of the artist, in Meredith's view, is to inform his narrative with thought, to give consistent directive emphasis—cultural, ethical, social—to his composition. Art, to Meredith, is synthesis rather than description, interpretation rather than narration. To hold the kodak up to nature is a task accomplished automatically by every shop window in Cheapside; to integrate concepts, to envelop facts with truth, to enlarge narration through selective emphasis—this, indeed, is the glory as well as the responsibility, of the fictionist of the future. Bernard Shaw has averred that fine art is the subtlest, the most seductive, the most effective, means of moral propagandism in the world, excepting only the example of personal conduct; and he waives even this exception in favor of the art of the stage, "because it works by exhibiting examples of personal conduct made intelligible and moving to crowds of unobservant, unreflecting people to whom real life means nothing." Meredith does not look upon fiction merely as a Zolaesque instrument of moral propagandism; nor does he hold with Mr. Howells that we should write only of contemporary life. Says Meredith:

"'The fiction which is the summary of actual Life . . . is philosophy's handmaiden'; and he would animate fiction with the fires of positive brainstuff, in order to raise the Art of Fiction to a level with History. 'Brainstuff is not lean stuff; the brainstuff of fiction is internal history . . .,' he says. 'The forecast may be hazarded that if we do not speedily embrace philosophy in fiction the Art is doomed to extinction under the shining multitude of its professors. They are fast capping the candle. Instead, therefore, of objurgating the timid intrusions of philosophy, invoke her presence, I pray you. History without her is the skeleton map of events: Fiction a picture of figures modelled on no skeleton anatomy. But each, with philosophy in aid, blooms and is hu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manly shapely. To demand of us truth to nature, excluding philosophy, is really to bid a pumpkin caper.' "

The real difficulty in criticism and appreciation of a literary artist at once critical and creative is to draw the delicate and subtle distinctions between his expressed ideal and his actual achievement. To what extent, for instance, does Meredith actually put into practice the principles he advocates with such charming reasonableness? And what is this mysterious "philosophy" to which he attributes such miraculous powers? I think we may find the clue in Meredith's claim that the brain-stuff of fiction is internal history; and the desiderated "philosophy" is the instrument for reading this internal history aright. That is to say, Meredith not unnaturally wishes to see fiction written in the light of some comprehension of human nature. And so, after all, the primary consideration is Meredith's conception of the nature of humanity and of the forces which must operate in achieving social, ethical and spiritual emancipation. The epitome of his fiction is personal history, the vicissitudes, failures and struggles of the individual to arrive at self-realization. This self-realization is the discovery that Earth is man's true mother,

"His well of earth, his home of rest,
And fair to scan."

Earth has her highest life in the works of man, and from her man derives his spiritual qualities. "We do not get to any Heaven by renouncing the Mother we spring from; and when there is an eternal secret for us, it is best to believe that Earth knows, to keep near her, even in our utmost aspirations." He asks no selfish, extravagant boons of Nature, desires only that he may read her aright and see "stern joy her origin," and is content to acknowledge that

"He may entreat, aspire,
He may despair, and she has never heed.
She drinking his warm sweat will soothe his need,
Not his desire."

Alongside his faith in Nature comes his confidence in the efficacy and validity of rationalistic process. Like Bernard Shaw, he believes that "to life, the force behind the man, intellect is a necessity, for without it he blunders into death"; faith in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nature undirected by thought may well lead us astray. Instinctive feeling, guided by intelligence and fortified by genuine passion, will enable man to rise nobly to the heights of his possibilities. Brain, blood and spirit are the indissoluble trinity, three in one and one in three, of the Meredithian perfect man:

> "Each of each in sequent birth,
> Blood and brain and spirit."

Such a conception—of the "temperament of common sense fired by enthusiasm and controlled by humor"—makes comprehensible to us at once his definition of passion as noble thought on fire. And in Meredith's fictive histories the hero totters and tumbles because he obeys one of the three constituent forces to the neglect or exclusion of the others. The soul is co-existent with, and in a sense the interaction of, brain and blood. And the man who can assert

> "I am the Master of my fate,
> I am the Captain of my soul"

is he who can say, as does one of Meredith's own characters: "I am not to follow any impulse that is not the impulse of *all* my nature—myself altogether."

This is Meredith's clue to the progressive evolution of society. "Man may be rebellious against his time and his laws, but if he is really for nature, he is not lawless." In his novels, Meredith portrays the "epic encounter" perpetually waged between Man in his instinctive temperament and the laws, institutions and traditions which the majority at any given epoch accept for their governance in mutual relationship. At the beginning of the nineteenth chapter of "One of Our Conquerors" he says:

> "There is at times in the hearts of all men of active life a vivid wild moment or two of dramatic dialogue between the veteran antagonists Nature and Circumstance, where they, whose business it should be to be joyfully one, furiously split; and the Dame is up with her shrillest querulousness to inquire of her offspring for the distinct original motive of his conduct. . . . If he be not an alienated issue of the Great Mother, he will strongly incline to her view, that he put himself into harness with a machine going the dead contrary way of her welfare and thereby wrote himself a donkey for his present reading. . . . But it is asked by the disputant, If we had followed her exclusively, how far should we have travelled from our starting-point? We of the world and its prizes and duties must do her an injury to make her tongue musical to us, and her argument worthy of our attention!"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meredith's attitude as a critic of society, finding concrete exemplification in his novels, is philosophically exhibited in that contemporary classic, the "Essay on Comedy." Meredith occupies the middle ground of sanity between the complacent adherent of current institutions and the violent Utopist, who desires to shatter this sorry scheme of things *entire*. In his novels, he "throws no infamous reflection upon life"; the Comic Spirit, as he portrays it, is in direct opposition to cynicism. Mr. Gilbert Chesterton maintains that when we want any art tolerably brisk and bold we have to go to the doctrinaires. Meredith is wholly out of sympathy with the social doctrinaires, those popular writers, conscious of fatigue in creativeness, who "desire to be cogent in a modish cynicism: perversions of the idea of life, and of the proper esteem for the society we have wrested from brutishness, and would carry higher." It is quite clear that Meredith, with all his passion for improving social conditions, his desire to place woman on an equality with man, to establish a more rational basis for the institution of marriage, wishes to build upon the foundations of our present social structure. His plea is for alterations and modifications of social conditions on the basis of hardly won reforms, and not for construction of a new social fabric after destruction of the old. His remark about the Comic Poet is perfect in its application to himself: "He is not concerned with beginnings or endings or surroundings, but with what you are now weaving. To understand his work and value it, you must have a sober liking of your kind and a sober estimate of our civilized qualities." Like his own Comic Poet, he believes that our civilization is founded on common sense, and that it is the first condition of sanity to believe it; and in this sense is Meredith the true conservative. The function of Comedy, it would appear, then, is less the destruction, than the sublimation and evolutional development, of established morals:

"If you believe that our civilization is founded in common sense (and it is the first condition of sanity to believe it), you will, when contemplating men, discern a Spirit overhead; not more heavenly than the light flashed upward from glassy surfaces, but luminous and watchful; never shooting beyond them, nor lagging in the rear; so closely attached to them that it may be taken for a slavish reflex, until its features are studied. It has the sage's brows, and the sunny malice of a faun lurks at the corners of the half-closed lips drawn in an idle wariness of half-tension. That slim feasting smile, shaped like the long bow, was once

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a big round satyr's laugh, that flung up the brows like a fortress lighted by gunpowder. The laugh will come again, but it will be of the order of the smile finely tempered, showing sunlight of the mind, mental richness rather than noisy enormity. Its common aspect is one of unsolicitous observation, as if surveying a full field and having leisure to dart on its chosen morsels, without any fluttering eagerness. Men's future upon earth does not attract it; their honesty and shapeliness in the present does; and whenever they wax out of proportion, overblown, affected, pretentious, bombastical, hypocritical, pedantic, fantastically delicate; whenever it sees them self-deceived or hoodwinked, given to run riot in idolatries, drifting into vanities, congregating in absurdities, planning short-sightedly, plotting dementedly; whenever they are at variance with their professions, and violate the unwritten but perceptible laws binding them in consideration one to another; whenever they offend sound reason, fair justice; are false in humility or ruined with conceit, individually or in the bulk—the Spirit overhead will look humanely malign and cast an oblique light on them, followed by volleys of silvery laughter. That is the Comic spirit."*

Certain restrictions are inevitably imposed upon the artist, by his temperament, his attitude toward his art, and his philosophy of life. Meredith's avowed purpose of minting and putting into active circulation the gold of the philosopher carries with it the obligation to remove from the characters the stigma of abstract theory by vital and essentially human treatment. He says in "Sandra Belloni":

"Such is the construction of my story . . . that to entirely deny the Philosopher the privilege he stipulated for when with his assistance I conceived it, would render our performance unintelligible to that acute and honorable minority which consents to be thwacked with aphorisms and sentences and a fantastic delivery of the verities. While my Play goes on, I must permit him to come forward occasionally. We are indeed in a sort of partnership, and it is useless for me to tell him that he is not popular and destroys my chance."

It is a curious, and almost tragic, limitation of Meredith's art that the vitality, the verisimilitude of the characters is, perhaps not infrequently, in inverse ratio to the abstractness of the theory which they are set in motion to embody. His characters suffer in reality through the pre-conceived theory their author compels them to exemplify. One often feels that instead of opening a window into the soul, Meredith has merely opened a casement

* "An Essay on Comedy and the Uses of the Comic Spirit." By George Meredith. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1897.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the brain; the rattling of the machinery of this *deus ex machina* persists in making itself audible, charm he never so wisely.

Meredith is incapable of final artistic self-sacrifice: he cannot resist the fascination of the rôle of ideal spectator. He ravishes us with his sense of the ironic contrast between the logic of the situation and the exhibition of the human will; but he cannot spare us the intrusion of his own charming personality. Quaint, fantastic, original, he interposes between the reader and his creations the viewless barrier of his own personality; his characters are unusual because, by some subtle alchemy of the fictive art, they assume the color of his own temperament.

It is Meredith's great achievement that, despite his theoretical divagations, his extraneous philosophic observations, his inability to resist the temptation to speak through the mouths of his characters, his unconscious faculty of imparting to his characters the tone and hue of his own nature, his characters live with a vital, a passionate energy drenched with thought for which we have to go to Ibsen to find a parallel. "It argues no lack of appreciation of his rich intellectual endowment," writes Mrs. M. Sturge Henderson, "to say that, when Meredith's achievement is estimated as a whole, it occupies a secondary place. His inspiration appears to lie in his poetic grasp, the intensity of realization with which he holds to the main issue and keeps it living, in defiance of the tangles of complexity he is forever weaving every side of it, and which might have been expected to prove fatal to the life within." *

If at times, as I have pointed out, Meredith's abstract theories give a sort of rigidity and glacial unreality to his creatures, in general his philosophical attitude toward art and life has given such meaning and significance to his fictive product that it bids fair to stand as a permanent memorial of this age of transitional social and moral values, of fantastic brilliancy and peccant individualism, of philosophic bias and ethical inspiration. His fiction points the way to, and is a permanently notable effort to achieve, the fictive art of the future, portraying our systems fortified by philosophy. In words which may with slight discount be applied to his own art he says:

* "George Meredith: Novelist, Poet, Reformer." Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1907.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Then, ah! then . . . will the novelist's Art, now neither blushless infant nor executive man, have attained its majority. We can then be veraciously historical, honestly transcriptive. Rose-pink and dirty drab will alike have passed away. Philosophy is the foe of both, and their silly cancelling contest, perpetually renewed in a shuffle of extremes, as it always is where a phantasm falseness reigns, will no longer baffle the contemplation of natural flesh, smother no longer the soul issuing out of our incessant strife. Philosophy bids us to see that we are not so pretty as rose-pink, not so repulsive as dirty drab; and that, instead of everlastingly shifting those barren aspects, the sight of ourselves is wholesome, bearable, fructifying, finally a delight. Do but perceive that we are coming to philosophy, the stride toward it will be a giant's—a century a day. And imagine the celestial refreshment of having a pure decency in the place of sham; real flesh; a soul born active, wind-beaten, but ascending."

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A COMMON-SENSE VIEW OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER, CHIEF CLERK OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS OFFICE.

IMMIGRATION has been debated in the United States ever since the adoption of the Constitution. For many years the foreigner, and what to do with him, shared doubtful honors with the slave in arousing popular excitement. He became, indeed, a political issue, and was principally responsible for the Know-Nothing Party which contested the election of Representatives in Congress, Governors, and State legislatures. In 1856, the candidate of this anti-immigration party for President, Millard Fillmore, polled nearly 900,000 votes.

It is not unlikely that the heat and violence which marked early discussion of this subject may have resulted, in some degree at least, from the presence of the immigration question in State politics; for the change in popular attitude has taken place since 1880, in which year Congress relieved the seaboard States of the jurisdiction which they had previously exercised over aliens arriving at their ports. At the present time, the opposite extreme appears to have been reached; the immigration question is at length free from politics and prejudice; and discussion of the subject, both in public and in private, is singularly calm and judicial. It cannot be assumed, however, that the assimilation of many thousands of aliens is any less vital and serious a matter than it was half a century ago, when races and beliefs were political issues over which heads were broken.

Those who dispute over this long-standing problem, either in Congress or elsewhere, are divided into two opposing, though non-political, parties, styled "Restrictionists" and "Anti-Restrictionists," terms which are self-explanatory. The argu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments advanced in public addresses by advocates* of each side may be thus summed up.

Point of View of the Restrictionist.—The immigrants now arriving are totally different from those whom our forefathers had in mind when they invited the world to contribute toward the building up of the Republic. Up to 1870 they were drawn largely from races similar to the inhabitants of this country, being principally English, Irish, Scotch and German. At the present time, less than one-fourth of the total number are immigrants of the old type; one-half are Slavs, and one-fourth come from the Mediterranean countries. The immigrants of to-day are poor human material, lacking in self-respect and intelligence; the great majority are distinctly unskilled—few being competent to perform even such simple work as domestic service; and, being brought over by the connivance of padrones and contractors, they belong to the category of "semi-contract labor." Moreover, they are rapidly increasing in numbers. More than a million aliens arrived during the fiscal year 1907; and, of this number, at least 800,000 must be considered as constituting a net addition to the population. Such an increase is a menace to the institutions of the United States.

The newcomers are not pushing the earlier arrivals upward in the economic and social scale. Eighty millions of people cannot all be pushed into the position of shopkeepers and employers, or even of foremen. Instead, the lower stratum is being pushed out, and a condition of chronic poverty, distressing to contemplate, is arising in many of the great cities.

Upon reaching America, the immigrant goes where his inclination leads him. His tendency is toward the most populous cities, because there he is able to secure not only the wages which he desires but association with his own race. It matters little to him that there are large sections of land in the South waiting for the laborer. He is not interested to any great extent in lonely farm lands, made stranger by an unfamiliar language, and he is not interested at all in intermittent requirements such as arise in the harvest season in the wheat-fields of the West. He prefers to become a burden upon the municipality in which he is, rather than to seek or accept opportunities in agriculture.

* From the debate of Representative A. P. Gardner, of Massachusetts, Restrictionist, and Representative W. S. Bennet, of New York, Anti-Restrictionist.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hence the foreigners remain in herds in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, causing a congestion of humanity.

The country is entitled to protection from the immigrant. We protect ourselves against the foreign product; for, in spite of the inequalities and inconsistencies of every protective tariff, the schedules tend to equalize differences in labor cost between given articles of American manufacture and corresponding articles of foreign manufacture. But we have no protection whatever against the foreigner himself. It is the height of inconsistency to protect American cotton-manufacturers and their workmen against the competition of Belgian workmen at the Belgian looms, yet to permit the Belgian workmen to cross the Atlantic and compete with the American workmen at the New England looms.

It is claimed that employment can be provided for these people; that, in fact, they are needed, because in these times there is a great demand for labor. But the obvious answer is that there is always a demand for labor which can be secured at a lower price. It can even be claimed that many of those who are most insistent in their demand for unrestricted immigration are interested in securing cheap and unskilled labor with which to compete with the more expensive labor now in this country. The same policy could be pursued until we had secured hundreds of thousands of Chinamen to take the places of our more expensive workmen. Such cheap laborers could make additions to the assets of the country: they could build new railroads, erect factories, and assist in vast improvements. But the individuals themselves would constitute liabilities: there would be a distinct change in citizenship, a definite lowering of the standards of living, a far-reaching injury to American workmen.

In prosperous times there are business opportunities for all who come to our shores. So long as two jobs are looking for one man, immigrant competition can do no more than retard the rise of wages. On the other hand, when two men are looking for one job, the conditions will be reversed. Prosperity must ever, for long or short intervals, give place to depression. As surely as day follows night hard times come; and when they arrive, what to do with the unassimilated millions of aliens will prove to be an increasingly serious question.

The View of the Anti-Restrictionist.—It is true that the class of immigrants has changed in the last few years, the large num-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bers who are now arriving being composed mostly of the Latin, Slav and Hebrew races. But while this fact increases the problem of assimilation, it does not render that problem impossible of solution; nor does it offer adequate reason for a reversal of the century-old national policy of encouraging immigration.

The immigrants of the present day are intensely in earnest, and they are industrious and frugal. A remarkably small percentage reach the charitable or penal institutions of the States in which they settle. The objection is raised by some that the proportion of illiteracy is now considerably greater than formerly; but an illiterate citizen is often a valuable citizen, if he is industrious and honest. Moreover, the present-day immigrant learns to read and write with surprising rapidity; statistics of naturalization show that, when aliens become citizens, but six per cent. are illiterate as compared with twenty-six per cent. upon arrival. At the census of 1900, the native whites of foreign parentage—that is, the children of immigrants—showed but 1.6 per cent. of illiteracy, while the children of native-born whites showed 5.7 per cent. The foreign-born father keeps his children at school longer than does the native-born parent. In many of the schools the hardest workers and the most frequent prize-winners are the children of foreign parents. On the East Side of New York, where there are hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews, and where, indeed, most of the immigrants of that class have lingered, there are large areas in which the night schools outnumber the saloons. These people buy real estate, become prosperous, and assimilate quickly. The Italians also, for the most part, are a thrifty, hard-working class, and they also are readily assimilated.

Although it is true that the large cities may become overcongested, especially during periods of depression likely to arise in the future, still there remain 242,000,000 acres of land in the South not under cultivation; furthermore, twenty per cent. of the spindles in the cotton-mills of that region have been long lying idle because of lack of labor. If operatives could be supplied to these mills, not only would they add to the prosperity of many communities by greatly increasing the value of the cotton cloth produced, but they would also eliminate much of the evil of child labor, children being employed in many localities, chiefly because no other labor can be obtained.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Upon the immigrants the continuance of the present prosperity of the nation depends, for they now form the industrial element. Moreover, immigrants who are law-abiding, industrious, temperate, and moral, and make good citizens, will continue to be a necessary element of the population. Indeed, the only objection that cannot be completely answered is the assertion that many of the successful immigrants ultimately return to their own country, taking with them their savings. But why should they not do so? Have they not contributed their share toward building up the national wealth?

The Opinion of the Average American.—There are five broad statistical facts which, at the present point in our national development, have a most important bearing upon the whole immigration problem, and in reality form the basis of the conclusions that the average American citizen inevitably draws from his own observation and experience.

1. A record of immigration into the United States has been kept since 1820; it is thus possible to ascertain the proportion which the total number of immigrants arriving during each decade from 1820 to 1910 formed of the total population of continental United States at the close of the same decade, as reported by the Census. This proportion, as indicated in the following table, has varied greatly during the period of record:

Decade ending	*Per cent.*	*Proportion.*
1830	1.1	1 to 100
1840	3.5	1 to 29
1850	7.4	1 to 13
1860	7.9	1 to 13
1870	6.2	1 to 16
1880	5.6	1 to 18
1890	8.3	1 to 12
1900	4.9	1 to 21

An estimate of the population in 1910 and of the total immigration during the decade ending with that year, indicates that in 1910 there will be approximately 12 residents to 1 immigrant who arrived during the decade. The proportion of immigrants to residents is therefore likely to be greater during the present decade than ever before, but not materially greater than the proportion shown for the two decades 1840 to 1850 and 1850 to 1860, in each of which it was 1 to 13, and the same as for the decade 1880 to 1890, in which it was 1 to 12.

2. The fact that immigrants formed a smaller proportion of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the population in 1900 than they did in 1890 is reflected in the further fact that between 1890 and 1900 the percentage of increase for the foreign-born population was only 11.8, as compared with 22.3 for the native population.

If, however, we set off the native white population of native parentage—that is, the white population native to the country for at least two generations—against those elements which do not belong to the native white stock, we find that the increase between 1890 and 1900 was 18.8 per cent. for the native stock and 23.1 per cent. for the foreign element. A comparison between these percentages and those given in the preceding paragraph affords an illustration of the cumulative effect of immigration.

3. At the present time, the white element native in this country for two generations or more forms but little more than half of the total population. In 1900, for every 100 whites of native stock there were 85 persons who were either whites of foreign extraction, negroes, Indians, or Mongolians; that is, for each white person of native stock there was practically one person of essentially dissimilar characteristics.

If those native white persons of foreign parentage who are at least ten years of age are considered as belonging to the native element of the population, then in 1900 the proportion of whites of native stock to persons of dissimilar characteristics was 100 to 46, or about two to one.

4. Although attempts to define the cumulative effect of immigration upon the population and the material prosperity of the United States are necessarily unsatisfactory, and possess no definite scientific or statistical value, one line of analysis may be accepted as at least suggestive. In setting forth the principles which govern increase or decrease in the number of human beings, Malthus, the first modern student of population, and still easily a leader in that branch of science, called attention to the fact that at the time at which he wrote—the close of the eighteenth century—the population of the United States was more favorably conditioned as regards increase than that of any other civilized nation, and that, in consequence, it was doubling approximately every twenty-five years. In the most favored sections, he declared, the increase was even more rapid. If the population reported at the First Census, 3,929,214, had been doubled only

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

once in thirty years, the results up to 1910 would have been as follows:

Based on theoretical increase.		Based on actual increase.		
30 years ending with	Amount of population when doubled.	Period required to double		Amount of population at end of period.
		No. of years.	Ending with	
1820	7,858,428	23	1813	7,959,452
1850	15,716,856	24	1837	15,808,421
1880	31,443,712	23	1860	31,443,321
1910	62,867,424	30	1890	62,947,714

Since those factors which retard growth, described by Malthus and accepted by students in general, become increasingly influential as population increases, a thirty-year period of doubling is more likely to be a just time allowance for the entire century considered, than a shorter period such as twenty-five years, as specified by Malthus. It is likely, indeed, to represent an over-estimate rather than an under-estimate.

According to the above table, the population which the United States should have reached theoretically in 1910, was actually attained in 1890, when the total number of inhabitants was 62,947,714. It will be observed that in the theoretical doubling process the increase during the last thirty-year period (1880 to 1910) is equivalent to approximately 1,000,000 persons a year. Upon that basis, in 1900 the theoretical population would have amounted to about 50,000,000; whereas the actual population in 1900 was 76,000,000. Thus the total population at the last census exceeded the theoretical figure for the same year by about fifty per cent. Hence, if we accept this comparison as possessing an approximate value, that part of the growth of the United States which has resulted from immigration is possibly about equal to the progress which has actually occurred from 1880 to 1900 in population, and thus presumably in wealth, amounting in the former to from twenty-five to thirty million souls, in the latter to more than $40,000,000,000. While, as already suggested, an analysis such as the foregoing possesses no precise value, it is doubtless much more likely to be accepted by thoughtful men as a reasonable approximation, than to be seriously disputed.

5. A recent publication of the United States Census Office estimates the increase in the total population of continental United States for the period of six years from 1900 to 1906 at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

7,946,935 persons, or 10.5 per cent. During the six years mentioned, the total number of immigrants admitted into the United States was 4,933,811; accordingly, if none of these immigrants died or departed, the total number of foreign-born must have increased from 10,341,276 in 1900 to 15,275,087 in 1906. But the actual foreign-born population in 1900 was only four-fifths of what it would have been if none of the immigrants entering the country during the decade had died or departed. Assuming that this proportion was maintained during the period from 1900 to 1906, the net gain to continental United States in new inhabitants drawn from other lands during that period, was 1,878,792, and the natural increase was therefore 6,068,143, or 8 per cent.

From this approximate computation of the actual increase of the population, it appears that the inhabitants of the United States are adding to their number, without the aid of migration, only about one and one-fourth per cent. annually. There are several European countries, notably Germany, in which the rate of increase is higher, and it is about as large in Great Britain, Norway, and Sweden.

Are not these general facts vaguely known to every man of average intelligence? If he were asked to state the proportion of immigrants arriving during a decade to existing population, although without expert knowledge, it is probable that he would hazard some such proportions as those shown in the table. And he would probably approximate rather closely the relative increase of the native and the foreign elements. He is aware that the division of the population between the native and the foreign elements is more or less on even terms, because he generally hires a foreigner to help upon the farm or in the shop, and, except in the Southern States, his wife secures a foreign-born domestic to perform the work of the household. If he is a resident of the city, he is daily made aware of the large proportion which the foreign-born now form of his community; if he is a resident of the country, he frequently receives impressive evidence of the increasing numbers of foreigners upon farms and in villages, by the departure of the native and the occupation of old homesteads by persons of other races and ideals. He is fully aware, moreover, of the fact that his own stock is not increasing rapidly; for his father's family doubtless consisted of half a dozen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children, while his own consists of not more than two children, probably one, and perhaps none at all.

Furthermore, the average man knows that there are already a few States and many communities in which foreigners greatly predominate. What has happened in such cases? In Rhode Island, for example, the population is composed largely of foreign-born persons and their children, while the native stock forms a minority; this is true also of many parts of Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Dakotas, in which from two-thirds to three-fourths of the inhabitants are of foreign extraction. These States are conspicuous for law-abiding qualities, for patriotism and for fidelity to the principles of the Republic. Rhode Island and Massachusetts are great manufacturing centres; Minnesota and Wisconsin are equally important from an agricultural standpoint. Few States of the Union have contributed to the national wealth more generously than these States are now contributing. Furthermore, in each the intelligent and progressive citizens of foreign birth or parentage have divested themselves to a large degree of the characteristics of their respective nationalities, and have taken on the essential qualities of American citizenship.

Thus in reaching his decision concerning the immigration question, is not the average citizen irresistibly impelled to one conclusion? If the foreigner now with us is almost equal, man for man, to the rest of the community; if the necessary increase in population can be secured only by generous contributions from foreign countries; if, because of our great total population, the enormous immigration of the present period is only a little larger in proportion than it has been at two other periods; and if the communities in which the foreigner is actually predominant are especially prosperous and successful—what is there to fear? The door has been open during the century and more of our history as a nation. We have abiding faith in the destiny of our country; why should we call a halt to these favorable conditions?

It must not be overlooked that society in the United States has been so constructed as to depend upon the continued arrival of large numbers of foreigners. In consequence, labor conditions prevailing in this nation differ radically from those which prevail in most of the countries of Europe, where all economic requirements are met by natives. In England, in France or in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Germany, for example, the man who sweeps the streets, the laborer upon public works or in mines, and the woman who cooks or performs other domestic duties, are as truly native as the ruler of the nation or the statesmen who guide its destinies. In the United States, the man who sweeps the streets, who labors upon public works, in mines or on railroads, and the woman engaged in domestic service, if white, are almost all of foreign birth. The native stock has learned to regard such callings as menial and hence as lowering to self-respect. Having accepted the education and opportunity which the Republic offers them, native Americans appear to consider that they are untrue to themselves if they do not avoid humble occupations and seek those regarded as an advance in the social scale. There is, therefore, a constant movement away from the lower callings toward the higher; and occupants for the places thus vacated are recruited from foreigners. They in their turn become imbued with the American idea, acquire confidence and develop ambition, and their children abandon to newer arrivals the callings which supported their parents. Evidence of this continued movement upward is seen in the unwillingness, not only of the native stock but of the children of the foreign element, to continue in the servant or so-called menial classes, and in the determination on the part of young women to become shop girls, telephone-operators, typewriters and shop and factory operatives, oftentimes at the penalty of severe privation, rather than to go out to service. Of all the persons who reported their occupation at the last census to be that of servants and waiters (numbering in all more than one million and a half), but one-fourth were native whites of native parents.

To instill the ambition to rise is one of the noblest missions of the United States, but it is necessary to recognize that it creates the problem of a constant shortage of workers in the humbler callings. These callings in themselves are as necessary in a republic as in an empire. Therefore workers in such occupations must in the future, as in the past, continue to be recruited from abroad, or else a large number of native Americans, and children of foreign parents, must be contented to labor uncomplainingly in the lower walks of life. It is possible that the former condition may continue indefinitely, but it unquestionably tends toward instability, for a nation which permanently

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meets by importation its demand for workers is, in a sense, artificially constructed.

On the other hand, the increasing population of the Republic, now approaching 100,000,000, by its very magnitude may force a readjustment of conditions in the body politic, by which, willing or unwilling, an element of the population not suited by mental capacity to compete successfully with their abler fellow citizens will be contented to labor in the so-called humbler occupations. If this should occur, it must be accomplished by a more general recognition of the dignity of honest labor even in those fields. It is far easier, however, to continue the importation of labor for the callings regarded in American communities as menial. For a time, at least, this policy is certain to remain unchanged.

When the young United States started upon a career of independence, the inhabitants concentrated their efforts upon the development of national resources. They prayed for wealth, and Providence gave them the immigrant as the means of securing it. After the lapse of a century, our success surpasses the wildest dreams of our ancestors; the United States has grown marvellously in numbers, and has obtained a prosperity unprecedented in the history of the world.

But if the immigrant has advanced us two decades at least in population and wealth, shall we in our rejoicing at material success forget that a penalty lurks behind every blessing too freely accepted? We are saturated with commercialism; money is the standard by which most men and women in the United States judge of others. Many of our men, in urban communities at least, live brief, high-pressure lives, and frequently go down in a wreck of nerves or even of mind. Yet we continue to invoke the aid of the alien, because, instead of being content with our already marvellous prosperity, we seek greater riches with increasing eagerness. We are proving anew in our time the old truth that the pursuit of gold is not compatible with simple, deliberate, nature-loving lives. This is the result, possibly it should be called the penalty, of the immigration policy of the United States; but, until the world changes its standards, and money ceases to be the objective of humanity, the convictions, hopes and ambitions of men, and those of the people of the United States in particular, will remain as they are.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is unlikely that our portals, thus far ever open to the aliens of all Europe, will be closed to them until it has been conclusively shown that the existence of the nation is imperilled by their coming, or until large numbers of worthy and industrious American citizens are obviously deprived of their means of livelihood by the arriving throngs of foreigners. At the present time there is nothing which points to the realization of these conditions; and, until there is, discussion concerning the restriction is in reality idle. Therefore let us be practical, nursing no delusions, and face conditions as they are. We have always needed the immigrant to aid us in amassing wealth, and we shall need him in the future, for the United States has now become the great labor mart of the world.

In the years to come, the increasing effect of immigration will doubtless appear in changed customs, realignment of religious beliefs, and some variation in national and political ideals—in fact, in the establishment of a new and composite civilization.

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfills Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."
>
> WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LABOR UNIONS IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

BY HENRY WHITE.

THE labor-union vote, heretofore a menace rather than a reality, now appears a prime factor in the Presidential struggle. The labor question—that is, the legal phase of it—has been transferred to the political arena, where issues made familiar in strikes and labor controversies are to be fought out.

One of the great political parties has incorporated a plank in its platform demanded by the American Federation of Labor, a plank that politically is as critical as the closed shop is industrially. It declares for judicial exemptions in favor of labor organizations in the matter of injunction proceedings and of the Sherman anti-trust law. The rival party has also adopted a plank on the same subject, but one not acceptable to the union chiefs.

Samuel Gompers and his lieutenants, in appreciation of their obligation to the Democratic party and of the need of demonstrating the solidarity of organized labor at the polls on the issue raised, have thrown themselves into the campaign, and are devoting the resources of the organization toward the election of that party's candidates. James W. Van Cleave, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, has—though, it is claimed, in his individual capacity—declared for the Republican candidates, and is carrying on a separate campaign. For the first time in American history, organized labor figures in an important way in a national election, and an interest has been awakened apart from the contest between the parties, almost overshadowing it.

With the "Gompers party," as it is called, all is not clear sailing. It is the dream of the union leaders to marshal the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voting strength of the unions some day so that it may become the balance of power, or to control through a separate party. This dream, seemingly capable of realization, is, however, conditioned upon trust in leaders and agreement upon far-reaching speculative questions. In the present situation, there is a simplicity of issues which tends to insure the largest degree of harmony, but there are difficulties of the gravest nature.

The American Federation of Labor, founded in 1881, may be said to represent the modern labor movement. The Federation and the non-affiliated unions have since then and until two years ago kept strictly aloof from politics. Two years ago, the Federation at Minneapolis made the departure of blacklisting Congressmen opposed to its special measures, but even this movement was designed to be entirely non-partisan. The Convention took the precaution when endorsing this political move, which was prompted by the leaders, to declare:

"We hold that the solidarity of our movement must not for a moment be endangered by attempts to identify it with a partisan political movement. We must have with us, in our economic movement, men of all parties and creeds, and the minority right of the humblest man to vote where his conscience dictates must be sacredly guarded. We may properly furnish him the facts as they occur in the legislative field, the record of legislators, and then leave him to use his own political judgment. We are not a political party. We disdain political party jurisdiction. We set up no claim of authority over the political acts of our membership. We could not if we would, for all the political authority one might assume would vitiate the protection due every man from the union which grants him his card. If we are to create new tests of regularity in unionism, we must first obtain new powers from the affiliated bodies which make up the Federation. We, therefore, recommend to trade-unionists everywhere the duty of independent voting and the formation of such organizations outside the Trade-Unions as, in the judgment of the membership in each locality, may be deemed most effective."

In a most admirable phrase there was thus expressed the relation of the labor unions to political action, and which may be said to epitomize the wisdom of the labor movement.

For the studied aloofness from politics, characteristic of the unions for twenty-seven years, there must have existed a strong reason. A reason may be found in the fate of its predecessor, the promising National Labor Union, which had a membership of over 200,000. After an existence of six years, the Union at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columbus, in 1872, nominated a Presidential ticket and never met again. A reason may be found also in the fate of its powerful contemporary, the Knights of Labor, which was torn asunder with dissension over politics, and whose disintegration was chiefly ascribed to the intrigues of politicians.

In 1886, the New York Central Labor Union organized the United Labor Party, which nominated Henry George for Mayor. In a most remarkable campaign, George came a close second to Abram S. Hewitt, with Theodore Roosevelt following. The next year, in a campaign for Secretary of State, George lost in the city more than half of his votes; and the year after the labor party went to pieces. The leaders of the party secured lucrative political offices which some are holding to this day. The brief political prestige which the unions gained in 1886 was at the cost of their integrity. Union after union went to pieces; and it was some years before the local union movement recovered. After like political successes in Chicago and Milwaukee, the unions suffered the same reaction.

In other cities, at different times, similar attempts were made, and, with an exception here and there, met precisely the same fate. A noteworthy exception was that of San Francisco in 1901, where the union labor party, acting independently, elected Eugene Schmitz Mayor. Schmitz was re-elected twice; and then followed the scandals which startled the country. The political success of the unions, there and elsewhere, divided the ranks into warring factions, and seriously weakened their effectiveness as unions.

With this experience vividly before it, organized labor steadfastly refused to be led into politics. In 1895, the American Federation of Labor adopted this clause in its constitution, which is still unaltered:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

In 1896, after the first Bryan campaign, the Federation significantly adopted the following:

"No officer of the American Federation of Labor shall be allowed to use his official position in the interest of either political party."

In 1898, the Federation declared that it is not within its province to designate to which political party a member shall

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belong or for which he shall vote. In 1903, delegates holding political office were disqualified from serving as such.

This strict non-political policy was dictated, not altogether as a protection against the design of politicians, but also as a means of keeping the movement out of Socialistic hands. At every yearly Convention of the Federation, the Socialistic elements strove to commit the organization in various guises to Socialism and Socialistic politics. The safeguards adopted against "Capitalistic" politics applied equally to the Socialists. The Socialists sought to except "labor" politics, but were defeated, and sometimes by a close margin. At New Orleans, in 1902, the vote against a Socialistic proposition of this kind stood 4,897 against and 4,171 for it.

The present Federation leaders were the bulwarks of the unions' policy. It would hardly seem possible that this policy could have withstood the assaults made upon it without their unflinching support. Representing, as these leaders do, the largest unions affiliated and controlling a majority of the votes, the destinies of the Federation were in fact at all times in their hands.

The leaders taught that the advancement of the working class was to be sought through their economic power, the control of the labor-market, and that the political power was a will-o'-the-wisp, ever luring the workers into the quagmire of partisan strife. They argued that political action could only be feasible when a long training in unionism should have developed the desired unity of purpose among working-men. So unqualified were these leaders in their opposition to politics of all kinds that they left no loophole for a movement such as the present one.

The following is from the annual report of President Gompers to the Federation convention in 1896:

"Having had the experience of occupying the presidency of the American Federation of Labor during three Presidential campaigns, I know what tactics and tricks party managers, understrappers and wire-pullers resort to in order to commit active men in the labor movement to one or the other.

"By my course—that is, in refusing to commit our organization or myself to either party—I by no means allayed personal or official criticism, or rather, abuse and slander. By the partisans of one side I was supposed to be working in the interest of the Silver Barons; by the other, I was captured by the Gold Bugs. Men were unable to realize

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how one could be consistent enough or staunch enough to be governed by the single purpose to try and steer our craft of trade-unionism clear from the shoals and the rocks upon which so many of labor's previous efforts were wrecked."

Mr. Gompers in his address to the working-men of the country in April last after the celebrated decisions in the Hatters and Buck Stove and Range Company cases said:

"Hold mass meetings in every city in the United States, and at those meetings voice fully and unmistakably labor's protest against the United States Supreme Court's decision, which strips labor of the rights and liberties which we had supposed were granted by the Constitution.

"The most serious and momentous crisis ever faced by the wage-earners in our country is now upon us. Our industrial rights have been shorn from us and our liberties are threatened.

"It rests with each of us to make the most earnest, impressive and law-abiding effort that lies within our power to restore these liberties and safeguard our rights for the future, if we are to save the workers and, mayhap, even the Nation itself from threatened disaster."

The Federation's head, without recanting his former views, justifies his present course on the same grounds as those on which a people might seek to justify a revolution—as a means of averting a graver evil. He agrees with the Socialists for once as to the need of the organized workers asserting themselves as voters; but he takes the stand that, a crisis having arrived in the life of the union movement, the union must either strike a blow at its enemies at the ballot-box or submit to the thraldom of the courts. He also takes the stand (and in so doing parts company irretrievably with the Socialists) that the effective way of delivering this blow is through one of the dominant or "Capitalistic" parties. For this patent reason, the Socialists, while commending his decision to go into politics—which they treat as an admission of the error of his "pure and simple" policy—attack him for his kind of politics which they characterize as reactionary.

The whole question, therefore, of the wisdom of the political move of the Federation leaders, from the strict trade-union point of view, rests upon the matter of the provocation. Is organized labor really so imperilled by the injunction as to justify the leaders (for the Federation as a body has not acted) in exposing the labor movement to all the dangers which they themselves have conjured up as being inseparable from political action?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Gompers in an address issued by authority of a conference of labor leaders, held in Washington March 18th last, characterizes the injunction thus:

> "By the wrongful application of the injunction by the lower courts the workers have been forbidden the right of free press and free speech, and the Supreme Court in the Hatters case, while not directly prohibiting the exercise of these rights, yet so applies the Sherman law to labor that acts involving the use of free press and free speech and hitherto assumed to be lawful now become evidences upon which triple damages may be collected and fine and imprisonment added as a penalty. Indeed the decisions go so far as to hold agreements of unions with employers to maintain industrial peace to be conspiracies and the evidence of unlawful combination in restraint of trade and commerce, thus effectively throttling labor by penalizing as criminal the exercise of its normal rights and activities."

This is, perhaps, the strongest indictment of the injunction; and yet it is difficult to be awed by the terrors which, according to Mr. Gompers, lurk in this judicial proceeding. There is the obvious fact of the steady growth of the unions notwithstanding the authority of the courts. Mr. Gompers fails to show that the unions have been hampered, in any of their legitimate functions, by the injunction. He fails to explain how they can be so hampered. What he really does do, however, is to make one feel that to his real objection he discreetly avoids giving expression, that it is the intent of the unions to employ intimidating methods and that if the unions are deprived of such means they will be rendered impotent.

That Mr. Gompers should so believe is not to be wondered at, considering the prevailing notion of most unionists that the ability to overawe, to coerce the non-unionist, is vital to the existence of the unions. This is the sensitive spot of unionism, the cardinal error of labor unions, and is chiefly responsible for the distrust with which they are regarded. With this attitude in mind, it is easy to understand why the union leaders should be so concerned about the injunction.

As a matter of fact, in the upbuilding of the union the boycott, which the injunction chiefly affects, has played but a small part, if indeed any part worthy of mention. Only a comparatively few unions can use, as but few have used, the boycott. Most boycotts have been dead letters. The list of the Federation, published before its publication was permanently enjoined by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Van Cleave suit, contained nearly two hundred names. Many of these concerns were on the list from two to five years. The writer communicated with them, and some in their replies expressed surprise at learning that their names were included. It was customary for Mr. Gompers, in his annual reports, to recommend to the Conventions that the concerns which there was small chance of bringing to terms be weeded from the "We-don't-patronize list."

There were, however, minor unions which rested entirely upon the boycott, and which, because of exceptional conditions, were able to make it effective. "Spineless unions" they were called —that is, unions which depended for an existence upon outside unionists, driving the non-unionists into the fold through the pressure of the boycott or the union label.

There were boycotts that approached the dimensions of civil wars; as, for example, the boycotts which grew out of the street-car strikes in Cleveland, Scranton and San Francisco. Their ramifications became so wide-spread as to create a reign of terror. Counter-combinations eventually followed, and these boycotts ran their course. On the whole, the boycott has not proved a helpful or a creditable weapon. The judgment of experienced union men is that the movement would have been better off without this questionable and easily abused device. Certainly, unionism founded upon free association has nothing to fear from the proscription of the boycott.

In the matter of picketing, the unions have better grounds for a complaint against the injunction. Unquestionably, as against picketing the injunction has been resorted to and has been granted more freely than the circumstances warranted. It afforded too easy a method of overawing strike-pickets who kept within lawful bounds. This abuse, however, is generally admitted, as is evidenced by the Republican platform, and more so by its candidate's letter of acceptance. This plank provides "that no injunction or temporary restraining order shall be issued without notice, except where irreparable injury would result from the delay." The last clause, however, takes the edge off the declaration.

The Democratic plank, while not declaring against the injunction in labor disputes as a principle, excepting the vague clause that "injunctions should not be issued in any cases in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which injunctions would not issue if no industrial disputes were involved," and going no further in that respect than the Republican, yet in declaring for a trial by jury in contempt cases practically destroys the value of the injunction as an emergency measure. Gompers and his associates have, therefore, in so far gained an unqualified concession from the Democratic party, though this concession is not made as a principle.

Respecting the Sherman law the Denver platform is explicit. In declaring that "there should be no abridgment of the right of wage-earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages," it declares that under no circumstances can such organizations be treated as trusts or illegal combinations in restraint of trade. The practical and immediate effect is to permit boycotting between the States. The injunction, however, would still remain a remedy.

As to the importance of the injunction as an issue, the writer has for more than a decade directed one of the largest of the unions, and one conspicuous because of the serious problems it has had to grapple with. In no instance in his career is he aware of the injunction's having obstructed the union. Injunctions were, it is true, often issued, but they were as often dissolved. It is a game that both sides can play at. Manifestly, the injunction, as an issue, has been grossly, if not intentionally, exaggerated by the overwrought union leaders, who, through lack of a normal perspective, have created a spectre that few others can see.

But, assuming the abuse of the injunction to be as grave as charged, assuming the injunction to be the medium of the judicial tyranny alleged, would this situation call for the heroic expedient of thrusting the labor movement into the vortex of a heated political struggle? Until now Mr. Gompers and his confrères put the integrity of the labor unions before all else. Presto! we find this integrity treated as of secondary consequence. Suddenly these leaders discover that organized labor is menaced by the courts, that "fundamental principles of personal rights are involved," and all their previous reasoning is reversed. Politics, always treated as subordinated to economic action, as the breeder of discord and disruption, as a game of cunning in which the guileless wage-workers could not hope to compete, is made the medium of the union's deliverance.

On the question of policy simply what have the union leaders

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

done? They have staked the future political influence of the labor unions upon their ability to make a showing in this election, and upon a very precarious issue. As in the Congressional campaign of two years ago, they are again going to stand up to be counted, and to demonstrate, this time in a more striking manner, the union's power at the polls. To accentuate this blunder the leaders have cast in their lot with the side which is admittedly the weaker, universally believed to have but a "fighting chance."

The manner in which the labor plank was accepted at Denver is not likely to inspire unionists, and must further operate against a good showing by labor. Its adoption was solely a matter of accepting what the rival party had partially adopted. Transparently, the concession was purely a bid for the union-labor vote. Furthermore, the denunciation of the Republican party by the union officials loses force because of the fact that the acceptance of the labor plank alone would have changed their attitude toward that party. Then it would have ceased to be "the party of the trusts."

An important battalion of organized labor has already spoken upon the question. The International Typographical Union in convention at Boston, on August 14th, refused to fall in with Mr. Gompers's plans. This bespeaks the stand of intelligent and experienced unionists. The serious consideration by the convention of a resolution to withdraw from the Federation, for the reason that it had become a political body, is likewise a forecast of the consequences of the Federation's revolutionary policy. There are other signs equally as portentous.

Mr. Van Cleave, in declaring it to be "the duty of American business men to bury Bryan and Bryanism," has in a way repeated the mistake of Mr. Gompers. In making the injunction the paramount issue, and raising a political question as between employers and union men, he has gone far toward justifying Mr. Gompers's course in the eyes of the union men; neither employers nor unionists, however, who look beyond this controversy will allow it to obscure the greater interests in the election. The attitude of Mr. Bryan, of course, on this question should have weight.

The weakness and danger of this kind of politics are that all considerations, however weighty, become as dust against the de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mands of a body of voters organized for self-advantage. The obligations of citizenship give way to the obligations of sect or class or division.

Mr. Gompers has repeatedly stated that the organized workers have as much a right to use their political strength for their own advantage as the employers. True; but have the employers or any other element the right to seek special advantages through their ability to influence votes? Voting with regard to one's separate interest is not an evil in itself, so long as the welfare of the whole be not ignored. This elementary proposition of government is involved in the pending campaign. As special interests, because of combination, become more influential this proposition looms up more strongly as an issue.

The political movement of the American Federation of Labor presents another aspect — that of a junta of labor chiefs directing the votes of millions. Never before has this been attempted; unions have gone into politics, leaders have used their influence for political advantage; but there is no record of leaders taking authority into their hands to make terms with political parties, and, acting upon their own judgment, undertaking to instruct or advise the membership as to the casting of its votes. In this case there exist besides, in the law of the union, express prohibitions against such use of authority. What it would mean, should the working masses assent to the political tutelage assumed by the Federation leaders, is best shown by an analysis of the source of authority of these leaders.

The last Convention of the organization at Norfolk consisted of 355 delegates from 237 National, State, local and Federal unions. The total vote represented was 14,916. Eighty-seven National Unions, with their 203 delegates, controlled 14,751 of these votes.

The basis of representation in the case of National and Federal unions is one delegate to the first four thousand, two to eight thousand, three to sixteen thousand, etc., and one vote to every hundred members. The State and local central unions have one vote and one delegate each. The eleven National unions from which the eleven executive officials were chosen controlled, in round figures, seven thousand votes, or about half the total.

Thus it is easily within the power of these eleven men to continue themselves in office at will. As changes in the personnel

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Executive Council have rarely taken place, these officials apparently have not been squeamish in availing themselves of this opportunity.

Here we have the anomaly of an organization grounded upon the principle of democracy, in fact an absolutism, and with the power centred in the hands of eleven chiefs. To add, therefore, to the sway of this coterie over the wage interests of the million and a half workers, dominion over their suffrage, would make all forms of bossism fade before it. That such political subordination would immensely increase the effectiveness of organized labor will not be disputed, but at what a risk and at what a cost! Answering criticism, Mr. Gompers denies any intent other than to advise. These are his official words:

> "We desire to repeat that we believe that the whole mass of the workers of the country will respond in hearty sympathy with the Democratic party in the coming campaign, as a result of its action in the labor planks of the platform.
>
> "We have no hesitation in urging the workers and our friends throughout the country to support the party in this campaign, which has shown its sympathy with our wrongs, and its desire to remedy them."

This, assuredly, is more than furnishing to the members the facts as they occur in the legislative field, and then leaving them to use their own political judgment as enjoined at Minneapolis; it savors more of an appeal of party workers and comes perilously near an assumption of power to deliver the labor vote, which Mr. Gompers vehemently denies.

"Stand by your friends; defeat your enemies," is Mr. Gompers's parting slogan in every message. Truly, but which are which? For the workers to accept Mr. Gompers's judgment would certainly be the simplest solution.

Heretofore, however, for an official of the Federation to "advise" as to politics was deemed an unpardonable usurpation of power. Manifestly, no official can go farther than that. Merely to advise—not to speak of using the facilities and influence of the organization in behalf of the favored candidates or party—puts an immense power into the hands of the officials—a power of incalculable value to a political party, especially where the Presidency is the stake.

HENRY WHITE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN CRIMINALS IN NEW YORK.

BY POLICE COMMISSIONER THEODORE A. BINGHAM.

WHEN the circumstance is taken into consideration that eighty-five per cent. of the population of New York City is either foreign-born or of foreign parentage, and that nearly half of the residents of the five boroughs do not speak the English language, it is only a logical condition that something like eighty-five out of one hundred of our criminals should be found to be of exotic origin. In no one police precinct on Manhattan Island does the percentage of native-born heads of families reach 50—the highest, 45.44 being in the West Side district lying between Forty-second and Eighty-sixth Streets and Eighth Avenue and the North River, and the lowest, 3.12, in the densely congested East Side quarter, largely peopled by Russian Hebrews, bounded by East Broadway, the Bowery and Houston and Norfolk Streets. Wherefore it is not astonishing that with a million Hebrews, mostly Russian, in the city (one-quarter of the population), perhaps half of the criminals should be of that race, when we consider that ignorance of the language, more particularly among men not physically fit for hard labor, is conducive to crime; nor is it strange that in the precinct where there are not four native-born heads of families in every hundred families, the percentage of criminality is high.

According to an estimate made by a Federal official, there are in New York to-day (besides the million Hebrews of several nationalities, but mostly Russian, already mentioned), 500,000 Italians; from 125,000 to 150,000 Hungarians; 100,000 Austrians; 150,000 Germans; 75,000 Bohemians; 60,000 non-Hebraic Poles; 40,000 Slovaks; 50,000 Greeks; 25,000 Armenians and Syrians; from 12,000 to 15,000 Swiss; 15,000 French and Belgians; from 10,000 to 12,000 Hollanders; 25,000 Irish; 10,000 Chinese;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4,000 natives of the Balkan states, and a few thousand non-Hebraic Russians, besides scattered representatives of nearly every other nationality on the globe. Not only does it bring among us the predatory criminals of all nations, as well as the feuds of the predatory criminals of all nations, as well as the feuds of the Armenian Hunchakist, the Neapolitan Camorra, the Sicilian Mafia, the Chinese Tongs, and other quarrels of the scum of the earth, but aliens have introduced here the unspeakable "white slave" traffic, whereby our streets are overrun with foreign prostitutes, and foreign anarchists openly advocate murder and arson in our slums. Further, according to the newspapers, among other minor instances of lawlessness generated on the other side of the Atlantic, in March last Servian conspirators came to New York to organize a movement to overthrow the throne now occupied by Karageorgevitch, and last December, if we may believe cable despatches from Geneva, emissaries of the Russian Government were sent to New York to kill the editor of a revolutionary newspaper published there.

The crimes committed by the Russian Hebrews are generally those against property. They are burglars, firebugs, pickpockets and highway robbers—when they have the courage; but, though all crime is their province, pocket-picking is the one to which they seem to take most naturally. Indeed, pickpockets of other nationalities are beginning to recognize the superiority of the Russian Hebrew in that gentle art, and there have been several instances lately where a Hebrew and an Italian had formed a combination for theft in the streets, the former being always selected for the "tool," as the professionals term that one who does the actual reaching into the victim's pocket, while the others create a diversion to distract attention, or start a fight in case of the detection and pursuit of the thief. Central Office detectives recently arrested a Hebrew, a Greek and an Italian who were picking pockets together. Among the most expert of all the street thieves are Hebrew boys under sixteen, who are being brought up to lives of crime. Many of them are old offenders at the age of ten. The juvenile Hebrew emulates the adult in the matter of crime percentages, forty per cent. of the boys at the House of Refuge and twenty-seven per cent. of those arraigned in the Children's Court being of that race. The percentage of Hebrew children in the truant schools is also higher than that of any others.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Although, while the Italians are outnumbered in New York by the Hebrews by two to one, the crime percentage of the former is but 20 to the latter's 50, the Italian malefactor is by far the greater menace to law and order. Of the 500,000 Italians in New York to-day, 80 per cent. are from the south, from Naples, Sicily and Calabria; and, while the great bulk of these people are among our best citizens, there are fastened upon them a riff-raff of desperate scoundrels, ex-convicts and jailbirds of the Camorra and the Mafia, such as has never before afflicted a civilized country in time of peace. For more than ten years, not only in New York and most of the other large cities of the United States, but wherever a few Italian laborers have gathered together, whether it be at work on a railroad, or in a mine, or on a farm or an irrigation ditch, or in the vineyards of the Pacific slope, the desperadoes of the race have fastened themselves upon the honest and industrious. In New York, presumably the very centre of Western civilization, crimes of blackmailing, blowing up shops and houses and kidnapping of their fellow countrymen, have become prevalent among Italian residents of the city to an extent that cannot much longer be tolerated.

In order to understand the conditions existing among the Italian banditti in New York, and throughout the United States, the rigorous punitive supervision to which the criminal classes are subjected in Italy must be considered. On the oath of a prefect of police that he has reason to believe that a man is not honestly supporting himself, the latter is sentenced to the "*domicilio coatto*," or restricted residence, with compulsory labor, on one of the islands set apart for that purpose along the coast, for a term that—depending on his conduct—may extend to several years. Indeed, groups of fifty and a hundred men at a time are thus summarily disposed of, no opportunity being afforded them to prove themselves innocent of wrong-doing.

An Italian who has served a prison term is, on his release, placed under strict surveillance for a period corresponding to the length of that term. On returning to civil life, he is obliged to give his future address at the police bureau of the district in which that domicile is situated, and to report at the bureau morning and evening each day. Nor is he permitted to leave his place of residence except to go to work, or to look for work.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On his return to his home in the evening, he is compelled to remain indoors until it is time for him to go to his employment, or to seek for employment, the next day; and it is particularly enjoined upon him that he may not, in any circumstances, enter a hotel, a restaurant, a café, a theatre or any other place of amusement.

The police pay visits to the ex-convict's domicile at will, not less frequently than every other day, to ascertain whether he is living in accordance with the regulations laid down for him; and, should he be detected in their violation, he is put back to the beginning of his probation—that is, if he has been subjected to the police regulations for one year, and has lived up to them for 364 days, he is compelled in case of a relapse to begin his year over again. In the event of a public celebration or any occurrence likely to bring a crowd to the city, town or village where he is domiciled, he is jailed until the ceremonies are over. The ex-convict in Italy, moreover, is likely to be asked for information as to the antecedents of any property he may acquire at any time. Should he even be noticed wearing a bit of jewelry that seems to have value, any minion of the law may stop him on the street, or in any other place, and call him to account for its possession.

The lawbreaker's life outside of prison in Italy is, in fact, passed in continual fear of the police and the *carabinieri,* the latter forming a regular army corps that patrols the entire country; and it is not at all surprising that he should take advantage of the first opportunity to get to the United States, where he is unknown to the authorities and conditions are perfect for him to live upon the more helpless of his honest fellow countrymen. The *omerta,* or conspiracy of silence, is unwritten law among the Italians who are supporting the banditti of the race in this country, and gives added confidence and security to the spoilers. Even the newspapers unwittingly assist the Italian lawbreaker. To quote a writer in an American magazine:

"The circumstance that the newspapers attribute every crime committed by an Italian in America to the Black Hand Society gives these desperadoes an advantage never before possessed by scattered malefactors; for, although they are without organization, they are enabled to make their lawless demands upon their ignorant victims in the name of a powerful society—that does not exist. So thoroughly has the press advertised such an association, however, that the individual criminal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need only announce himself as an agent of the Black Hand to obtain the prestige of an organization whose membership is supposed to be in the tens of thousands."

It is impossible to exaggerate the enormity of the offences committed by these transplanted malefactors, by whatever name they may be called. Murder, arson, kidnapping, bomb-throwing, blackmail, robbery, are matters of frequent occurrence in the Italian colonies throughout the country. There have been several cold-blooded, premeditated murders among Italians in the five boroughs of New York since the first of the year. The audacity of these desperadoes is almost beyond belief. Arrested for crimes that, proved against them, might give them capital punishment or life terms of imprisonment, they will obtain bail and return to the scene of their depredations to jeer at and threaten their victims.

As a concrete instance of one phase of Italian criminality the experience of a victim who has had the courage to stand up against a gang of blackmailers may be cited. He stated his own case to a reporter of the *New York Times* in July, as follows:

"My name is Salvatore Spinella. My parents were of honest station in Italy. I came here 18 years ago, and went to work as a painter, like my father. I married. I raised a family. I am an American citizen 13 years. My children, as they are big enough, all go to school. I educate my oldest daughter to be a teacher. I make a little money. I became a contractor-painter. Last winter I think I am prosperous. My family are all very happy. I own houses at 314 and 316 East 11th-street. I lease a house at 326 East 11th-street, where I live.

"The 'Black Hand' come and demand $7,000. I tell them to go to hell. They try to blow up my house. I go to the police and fight them as well as I can. They set off another bomb; two, three, four, five bombs. My business is ruined. My tenants leave, all but six of 32 families. I have $1,000 interest coming due next month that I cannot pay. I am a ruined man. My family live in terror day and night. There is a policeman in front of my house, but what does he do? Only my brother Francisco and myself can watch with my wife and children, who dare not go out. How long must this endure?"

It is an extremely difficult thing to catch a Sicilian bomb-planter in the act. If he thinks that the place he wishes to demolish is watched, he will come again and again — if not to-day, then to-morrow; if not to-morrow, some day next week. His patience is inexhaustible, and when he sees his opportu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nity he will quietly slip his bomb with a long fuse into a closet, under the stairs, or in some other out-of-the-way place, ignite the fuse and quietly slip away. Moreover, Petrosino and the members of his staff are the best-known men in New York to the Italian criminals, who naturally attempt to acquaint themselves with the person of every member of the squad before proceeding to the commission of crime. In this Spinella case, after the first bomb was thrown, Lieutenant Petrosino was assigned to the case. In spite of careful work another bomb was exploded in the house. The third time the Black Handers tried it, however, a young Italian was caught red-handed in the house with the bomb in his hand. The prisoner turned out to be a stupid boy of less than twenty, who had only arrived from Sicily a few weeks before, and who had been put up to attempting to explode the bomb by some criminal of higher intelligence.

Italian children come next after the youthful Russian Hebrews in the percentage of arraignments in the Children's Court and commitments to the truant schools and the House of Refuge—the lower rounds of the ladder of crime. They are 20 per cent. of the total brought into the court, and 10 per cent. of those at the House of Refuge. There are no figures available as to percentages of commitments to the truant schools.

After the Russian Hebrews and the Italians, the remaining 30 per cent. of adult criminals is pretty well divided up among the representatives of other alien races and the native Americans. The latter incline to commercial crimes, and the less cultured among them to the higher classes of burglary as well as minor offences. In many of the smaller foreign colonies there is petty blackmail going on, whereby the immigrants victimize one another, but on the whole no other races than those already mentioned have developed particularly dangerous criminal specialties.

The "white-slave" traffic, which, while not constituting any direct menace to life and property, is yet a crime of so detestable a nature as to excite even greater animosity against its perpetrators than is engendered by the most terrible misdeeds of the so-called "Black Hand," has recently been introduced into New York and other parts of the country by the lowest and most contemptible malefactors of France and Belgium. The term "slave" is no misnomer, for the victims of this crime are as

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

absolutely the property of their masters, in everything except the legal sense, as were the blacks in the South before the Emancipation Proclamation—and the condition of the white slaves to-day is infinitely more pitiable. This vile trade has its agents all over Europe, and its victims are young women of the peasant class from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Russia, Spain, the Austrian provinces, Roumania and southeastern Europe generally, with a few from Germany and Italy, who are decoyed away from their homes by promises of employment in another country as servants in respectable families, or in other capacities, and once out of their native land are relegated to lives of shame, with death as the only alternative in the majority of cases. In many instances, in which a young girl will not leave her home for the sake of employment, a good-looking young scoundrel in the slave-trade will make love to her and marry her, only to turn her over to a purchaser when she is beyond the reach of assistance. A regular business is carried on in the delivery of these unfortunates in foreign countries. London is the centre of the traffic, and the clearing-house from which the women are distributed to the Americas. South America gets sixty-five per cent. of these slaves, but there are hundreds of them already in New York, and more than 100,000 on the Pacific coast and in Mexico, who have entered through the port of New York. It will readily be understood how difficult it is to break up this traffic. The women arrive here as first and second class passengers, some with the men they have married, and are able to meet all the requirements of the immigration laws. Once in the city, those who remain are made actual prisoners in disreputable houses, and forced—more often than not by brutal corporal punishment—to do the will of their masters. Ignorant of the language and of the laws of the country, it is well-nigh impossible for them to appeal for assistance, and the lives of those who find it impossible to adapt themselves to the fearful conditions under which they are compelled to exist are dragged out in wretchedness and misery.

The story of one of these "white slaves," who was deported in July, when the man who was responsible for her misfortunes was sentenced to a long term in a Federal prison, illustrates the conditions that govern this infamous trade. The victim in this instance was a nineteen-year-old girl, born in Paris, and the man

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who was convicted was an Egyptian, named Seliman Allys. He had induced her to come to America with him by promising to marry her on their arrival. They reached New York on the "Lusitania" last February, and he took her to a house which was called a club. After the girl had been there a month, Allys introduced her to a disreputable house kept by a Frenchwoman named Arturo, and there, after being frequently beaten and kept in imprisonment, she was forced to do the bidding of the other two. In an affidavit the girl says: "I was helpless. If I had been in my own country I could have refused. I could not get away because I had no money and could not speak English. I made ten dollars and sometimes more a day. I gave it all to him. . . . I was told not to go to the windows, and to stay in my room, because the detectives told Madame Arturo they were looking for a girl." The woman, Arturo, was held in $5,000 bail for trial in the case. She was able to secure bail, however, and she forfeited it and fled from the country. Of course, the above is only an outline of a terrible story that may not be told in detail.

The men who are conducting the "white-slave" traffic here, as has been said, are mostly French and Belgian, who speak little or no English. Most of them are of an inferior physical type, as they are mentally and morally, and among them are a number of the Paris "apaches," absinthe-consumed perverts, who are to the French capital to-day what the crapulous "gangs" of a few years ago, murdering and robbing when drunk, were to New York. Italians and Hebrews, whose habitat is in the slums south and west of Washington Square, are also engaged in the slave-trade in New York.

A year ago, the sensational murder of Tavshanjian, a wealthy rug merchant in Union Square, who was shot from behind as he came out of the Everett House where he had been to lunch, brought to light the existence of half a dozen alleged patriotic Armenian societies, organized for the purpose of raising money to assist the movement for throwing off the Turkish yoke, but more than one of which has degenerated into a society for the practice of blackmail, pure and simple. Investigation revealed the fact that the killing of the rug merchant, the butchery of Father Kaplan, an Armenian priest, three months before, and several other hitherto unexplained murders in the United States and on the other side of the Atlantic,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might be traced to a common cause; that for years wealthy Armenians in this country had been living in continual terror by reason of the threats of these societies, one of which, with headquarters in Cyprus, struck deadly blows in London, New York, Constantinople, wherever it would. The sentence of the actual murderer—a mere tool in the hands of others, who had crossed the ocean for the purpose of assassinating Tavshanjian—to the electric chair, and of four local accessories to the crime to long terms in State's prison, has temporarily dampened the ardor of the Hunchakist, but there is no telling when the leaders may again incite ignorant enthusiasts to another tragic outbreak.

Chinatown has been quiet for many months, but murderous eruptions in that quarter of New York always come without warning, and no one save the Chinamen themselves ever know any more what the quarrel is about than that one Tong, or society, has a grievance against another. The Chinaman never includes his American neighbors in his feuds, however, and the only risk the latter runs when the former goes on the warpath is from a stray bullet, for the yellow men are poor marksmen. Nevertheless, Chinatown is a plague spot that ought not to be allowed to exist. It is a constant menace to the morals of the children of the neighborhood, and a cover for desperate criminals. The low-ceiled rooms of the squalid buildings in Doyers, Pell and Mott streets, and facing on the Bowery, many of them opening only into inside courts, are divided and subdivided into closetlike spaces that are rented for living and sleeping purposes, and in them are housed the very lees of humanity, black, yellow and white—Chinamen, honest and dishonest, but all the others—thieves, thugs and prostitutes, with their parasites. There are a few Chinamen with their wives, white and Chinese, who live respectable lives—from the Mongolian point of view—in these teeming warrens, but the character of human existence in them is beyond description.

Americans have never been brought to consider anarchism seriously, in spite of the outrage of nearly a quarter of a century ago in Chicago that cost several lives, although President McKinley was killed by an anarchist and the anarchist assassin of King Humbert of Italy sailed from New York on his murderous errand. The "reds" in New York do not probably number more than a thousand all told, comprising principally Ger-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mans, Italians, Russian Hebrews and Bulgarians, with a scattered few of other nationalities. There is always the possibility of some crack-brained fanatic being influenced by the anarchist who only talks to a desperate deed, like that of Silverstein in Union Square last March.

So much for the criminal element that the Police Department of New York is paid to keep within bounds, and now to consider the method of dealing with it. Take the most dangerous malefactors, the ex-convicts of Naples, Sicily and Calabria and their following. It is estimated that there are at least 3,000 of these desperadoes in New York, among them as many ferocious and desperate men as ever gathered in a modern city in time of peace—mediæval criminals who must be dealt with under modern laws. In a spirited article in the number of this REVIEW for last April, in which he demonstrates that the "Black Hand Society" as a definite organization is a myth, Gaetano d'Amato quotes Robert Louis Stevenson's characterization of the gangs of thieves that preyed upon nocturnal Paris three and a half centuries ago to describe conditions existing among the Italian criminals in New York to-day—"independent malefactors, socially intimate, and occasionally joining together for some serious operation, just as modern stock-jobbers form a syndicate for an important loan." Admitting the accuracy of the parallel, what might happen if a mind capable of organizing these criminal units, as was done in the instances of the Camorra and the Mafia, were to accomplish that result? It is by no means outside the bounds of possibility. Newspapers and individuals inform the Police Commissioner that, the members of the force as at present constituted being at a disadvantage in coping with the Italian evil-doer by reason of ignorance of his language, a solution of the problem of control of Italian crime would come with the addition of a sufficient number of Italian policemen to the ranks to establish a proportion with those speaking only English. That there should be only thirty or forty Italian policemen and detectives in a city where there are 500,000 Italians, few of whom speak English, is a ridiculous state of things, we are told. The reply is that the Police Commissioner is compelled by law to select his men from lists furnished him by the Civil Service Board, and that Italian names are few on these lists because the young men of that nationality generally prefer business life

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the public service. Further, the Italian invasion of New York is so recent a matter that there are few of that race of the right age who would be able to pass the examination for probationary members of the police force.

Under the immigration law as it stands at present, a foreign criminal may be deported from the United States if he has been in the country less than three years and has committed before coming to the country a crime involving moral turpitude. After three years' residence here, he is exempt from arrest in so far as his previous record is concerned, the idea being, apparently, that three years of contact with American institutions will make him a desirable citizen, no matter how big a scoundrel he may have been on his arrival. In order to prove a foreign criminal record in the case of suspected Italians, the assistance of the Italian Consul-General was requested. The Consul-General expressed himself as ready to render the police the necessary assistance in ascertaining foreign records of Italians arrested for crime committed here, or of those now wanted for trial or punishment in Italy. He could not see his way clear, however, to assist the police by procuring any information as to the foreign record of an Italian in New York who may have committed crime before coming here, but is not now wanted on a charge here or in Italy.

The other essential to the deportation of a foreign criminal is to prove that he has been in the country less than three years. If the burden of proof could be put on the alien, the matter would be simple and no injustice would be done, since if he has been in the United States more than three years it is the easiest thing in the world for him to prove it. The present method, however, which practically places the burden of proof on the police and requires from them evidence that the former criminal has not been here three years, makes the deportation of these men extremely difficult. Owing to deficiencies in our laws, dangerous foreign criminals whom the police have sent to Ellis Island for deportation have been set at liberty there, and have of course returned to continue their depredations. And to add to the trials of the Italian squad, three Italian ex-convicts, who had been certified for deportation last July, escaped after having been given into the custody of the immigration authorities.

Although New York is thus overrun with the criminals of all nations, her Police Department is compelled to work at a dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advantage in the detection and punishment of crime by comparison with that of any other large city in the world, by reason of the fact that—owing to existing political conditions—the Police Commissioner is unable to employ a secret service. All of the members of the detective bureau, as it is at present constituted, are easily known to the criminals and the crooked politicians, who are to blame for the present lack of efficiency in the Police Department. The best-known men in all New York to the Italian criminals are Lieutenant Petrosino and the other members of the Italian squad. Indeed, the first thing an Italian criminal does on arriving here is to make himself acquainted with the appearance of the Italian detectives. Similarly, every pickpocket, every thief, every "white slave" master, every professional criminal in whatever line, familiarizes himself as far as possible with the appearance of the members of the police force, as they freely say themselves. With a civilian branch of the detective service, the members of which should be engaged and dismissed entirely at the will of the Police Commissioner, and who should be unknown except to two or three officials, wonderful results could be accomplished in the breaking up of criminal organizations. Such a secret service would be of particular use in hunting down the criminals among the Sicilians and Armenians, for instance, and in discovering the identity of the men engaged in the "white slave" traffic, as well as of inestimable value in the general detection of crime.

Again to quote a writer in an American magazine:

"The crowning absurdity of the entire tragic situation in New York lies in the circumstance that the Police Department is without a secret service. In the one city in the world where the police problem is complicated by an admixture of the criminals of all races, the Department is deprived of an indispensable arm of the service."

THEODORE A. BINGHAM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REGENERATED OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

BY MUNDJI BEY, TURKISH CONSUL-GENERAL AT NEW YORK.

THE dawn of the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire, hailed by the re-establishment of our Constitution of 1876, may appear to be by no means free from menacing clouds of future political and internal intrigues; but I have reason to believe firmly that the surprising outcome of the short and bloodless revolution in the Ottoman Empire which compelled the reluctant Sultan to yield to the wishes of the nation has opened a clear path to the goal of freedom.

There are students of history and political science in Europe, as well as in America, who are inclined to think that a great reform movement, like the one now inaugurated in the Ottoman Empire, cannot be accomplished without bloodshed. Sooner or later, their opinion is, the world will witness the rise of reactionary elements who will induce Sultan Abdul Hamid to resume, once more, his detested rôle of autocracy. They may have reasons for their deduction, but thousands of free-minded and liberal Ottomans, knowing well the internal situation in Turkey, are assured that it is impossible for either the Sultan or his camarilla to suppress the new Constitution, and retrograde to the old reign of despotism.

In order to understand the development of the present situation in the Ottoman Empire, we must go back to the reign of Abdul Medjid, the father of our present monarch. The readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW will perhaps recollect that, when Sultan Abdul Medjid granted the famous charter of 1853, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of utter decay and the independence of the State was in jeopardy. The "Hatt-i-Humayoun" of Sultan Abdul Medjid, promulgated from the Gulhane Palace, saved Turkey from dismemberment and partition, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

renewed our friendly relations with Great Britain and France. The integrity of the Empire was saved, and it remained on the political map of the world unmolested.

Sultan Medjid's charter, for some reason or another, did not bring about the desired results within the country, and when his brother, Abdul Aziz, the unfortunate Sultan, ascended the Ottoman throne, the situation was full of peril.

The Empire's vital forces—her army, her navy and her financial credit abroad—were in a critical condition. The rumblings of revolutionary movements were being heard from all corners of the Empire. The political testament of Sultan Abdul Medjid, elaborated by the celebrated Grand Vizier, Moustafa Reshid Pasha, was doomed to become a dead letter. The European Powers, hopeless of the Ottoman independence and regeneration, were eagerly looking forward to the approaching day of our disintegration.

Statesmen of world-wide fame, like Ali Pasha and Fouad Pasha, did their utmost to save the Empire from its downfall, and to reinforce the rule of Sultan Abdul Aziz; but, in spite of all their patriotic zeal and statesmanship, their efforts failed. Although our navy was decidedly strong, and the army equally so, the two forces did not prevent Turkey from losing a large part of her territory in 1877, in the war with Russia.

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Aziz, the situation appeared to be encouraging. The press was free, public education was making headway, and our commerce and agriculture progressing. But, unfortunately, the microbe of decay proved more powerful than our statesmen's efforts toward regeneration.

In consequence of this state of affairs, internal disturbances and revolution in the European provinces, together with a financial crisis, became so menacing that the Cabinet decided to put an end to the rule of Sultan Abdul Aziz. He was dethroned in 1876, to the great satisfaction of the Ottoman nation, as well as of Europeans.

Sultan Mourad V succeeded his uncle. He was liberal, progressive and generous, but the opportunity was denied him of putting into effect his reform schemes. His opponents proclaimed him insane, and entrusted the throne to his brother, Abdul Hamid, who hastened the country toward final ruin and downfall.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The independence of a State means the freedom of the nation. A progressive, liberal and constitutional government, beyond any doubt, is stronger and better than an absolute monarchy, where the will of one man can rule and ruin a country. Midhat Pasha deserves the credit for the initiation of the Constitution in Turkey. His prudence and his patriotism were well represented in the great work which he accomplished, in inducing Sultan Abdul Hamid to proclaim a Constitution on December 19th, 1876.

Unfortunately, to put it briefly, Sultan Abdul Hamid was not in sympathy with the progressive programme, and he was not sincere when he consented to grant the Constitution. But Midhat Pasha had set his hopes on the Parliament, as the means of checking the despotic rule of the monarch and of reforming the country.

The war with Russia was declared in 1877, and Sultan Abdul Hamid seized the opportunity to abolish the Parliament and do away with all patriots. Some of them were murdered, some imprisoned, and others exiled. They were men of enlightenment and ability, and the Ottoman nation will always mourn the loss of its best sons, the fathers of our liberty.

The war was disastrous for us. Much territory in Europe and in Asia Minor was lost. The pride and dignity of the nation were lowered. But this caused no regret to Abdul Hamid. He felt no shame to see the throne of Osman Khan Elghazi, so dear to Ottoman hearts, exposed to the scorn of the world. The hostility, antagonism and detestation of his subjects did not disturb his peace; he was satisfied that they feared him.

The terrible war, its consequences, the despotic rule, tyranny and persecution, exhausted the natural resources, strength and energy of the nation, and initiated a period of struggle and revolution. Turkey grew weaker and weaker day after day, left an open door for foreign intervention and put the control of the country's independence into alien hands. During the last thirty-two years, our navy has lost its importance, while the army became stronger and well organized; it was led, however, not against our enemies, but on the contrary against the nation, against the peaceful inhabitants. Brother was led against brother, and public officers sought their promotion by spying upon each other. The corruption reached such a degree that even Sultan Abdul Hamid himself came to hate his own rule.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The result was the decay, the ruin and destruction of the Empire. During this period, we lost all our national fortune, our commerce went into foreign hands; it had been previously in the hands of our fellow countrymen—Armenians and loyal Greeks. The nation was subjected to humiliation, poverty and destitution.

The power and vocation of the Sublime Porte were transferred to the Yildiz Kiosk. The Grand Vizier was humiliated to play the rôle of a valet in the hands of the palace officials. And the helm of state was in the entire control of a small circle of minions and parasites. In matters concerning the relations with foreign Powers, the Sublime Porte became nothing more than an office of registry.

Our representatives in foreign lands, instead of looking after Ottoman interests, in order to strengthen our economic and friendly relations with foreign countries, became simply police agents and spy lieutenants to watch innocent political refugees, and send to the Yildiz reports of imaginary plots and revolutions.

The Sultan, fearful and suspicious, trusting no one, believing in no one, created the spy system, the most expensive and most complex of all institutions in Turkey. Every move of everybody was watched. Even three persons could not gather around a table. They were spied upon. If there were seven hundred and fifty thousand Mohammedan inhabitants in Constantinople, five hundred thousand of them were spies.

In such a state of affairs it was very natural that the Ottoman financial standing should fall, and credit vanish. It was impossible for the Ottoman treasury to negotiate loans. This brought about the necessity of handing over to the Germans our customs duties, our waterways, railroads and other sources of revenue and production, not only in the capital, but in Asia Minor and at other points of the Empire.

The annual allowance of the Sultan was one million Turkish pounds, but he spent between seven and eight millions a year, most of it wasted in fighting imaginary plots and revolutions. Corrupt palace officials around him found a means of accumulating a fortune just by whispering a few words in the ears of their master. The country's annual expenditure was twenty-five million Turkish pounds, while the revenue never exceeded twelve millions.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The people year after year lost their confidence in the Sultan, and discontent increased with speed among Turks, Armenians, Macedonians and Albanians.

The wholesale butchery of three hundred thousand Armenians, directed by the Yildiz Kiosk clique, is too well known to be recapitulated here. We lived for centuries with the Armenians. Through their native industry and intelligence they had been always most useful subjects of the Empire, and no cause was given by them for the cruel persecution. It was only a conspiracy, the scheme of a few palace grafters to make a fortune out of Armenian blood.

The Sultan, mindful only of his personal safety and absolute rule, ignored entirely all consideration of what the future consequences might be. Like Louis XV, he believed in "After me the Deluge." He wanted to rule and rule alone, and his Machiavellian policy made no discrimination as to race or religion. During his thirty years of reign, at least one hundred thousand Turkish families have suffered his cruel persecution. Thousands were exiled, imprisoned, poisoned, sunk in the sea or murdered at midnight in the Yildiz.

This misrule in Turkey became a by-word among the nations, and lowered the dignity and pride of the nation. It was not only enlightened Ottomans who became dissatisfied with the situation; but soldiers and officers also, whose salaries were neglected for months and even years, joined in the march of the reformers' army. Had Turkey remained in the same situation a decade more, it would have been wiped out of Europe and Asia. Her corruption paralleled that of the old Roman Empire.

The Young Turkey movement, led by able patriots, men trained in Western civilization, although in existence for a score of years, spread within the last year with great rapidity and became the dominant power in the country. The fact that Young Turks joined Armenian and other revolutionary organizations, made their cause common, and strengthened their fighting force for liberty.

The Armenian revolutionists, after looking for a quarter of a century to the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Congress for the administration of reforms in Armenia, came finally to the conclusion that their hope of freedom lay in co-operation and union with Turkish and other liberal movements.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While history will record the discipline, the thorough organization and the courage of the Young Turks in achieving Ottoman independence, the Armenians will always be credited with the prudence and the diplomacy of the step they took.

The fuel for the final conflagration came from the Macedonian question. For years that unhappy spot of European Turkey had become a guerilla camp of various races — Bulgarians, Greeks, Servians, Wallachians and Albanians. Each race had its national prejudice against the others, and each its national ambition. Bulgarian Macedonians were supported by Bulgaria, Greeks by Greece, Servians by Servia and Wallachs by Roumania. All wanted to rule and separate the province from Turkey.

The situation in Macedonia became menacing. The Austro-Russian action failed, and after Sir Edward Grey's note of last March, Russia and England came to a final understanding. The Reval meeting of the Tsar and King Edward made the Macedonian question more acute, and our patriots, Young Turks, whose programme is to save the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, grasped the situation and hastened the revolution to avert the loss of the Macedonian province and the fatal consequences thereof.

"The Committee of Ottoman Union and Progress," as the Ottoman Revolutionary Committees are named, directed the Revolutionary Committee in Macedonia to sound the bugle of revolt. The signal was given before the time designated, and the insurgent army at Uskub, Monastir, Salonica, Adrianople, all at the same time, demanded of the Sultan the re-establishment of the old Constitution and the banishment of the obnoxious camarilla at Yildiz—the real instigators of the country's misfortune and misrule. The Sultan had in all circumstances depended upon Albanian support in time of trouble, and the news of their revolt fell upon the Yildiz Kiosk like a thunderbolt.

The Constitution was granted, or rather was forced to be proclaimed, on July 24th, the day of the dawning of the new era of the Ottoman Empire. Although this Constitution is substantially the one inaugurated in 1876, and many changes are to be desired in the near future, it assures in its present form the integrity of the Empire, individual liberty, the freedom of all creeds, of the press and of education, equal legal taxation; a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate and a Chamber; general elections by ballot every fourth year; permanent tenure of office by judges; and many other reform measures so long desired and so urgently needed.

I do not need to dwell at length here upon the welcome benefits which will accrue to the country from the new régime. The Ottoman Empire, comprising Mohammedan and Christian races, has within itself the ability to enlighten, to uplift, to civilize the country, and to bring it to the high level of Western nations. The new regenerated Turkey will not follow the footsteps of the fighting soldiers of the sixteenth century, but will settle down to rebuild the ruins of the old days; we will study science, history, economics and all the modern resources of civilization.

Our industries, agriculture and other means of production, till now sold to foreigners by corrupt officials, will pass into native hands. Within a decade, the country, rich in natural resources, will develop from its present destitution and bankruptcy, into a land of happiness and prosperity.

The greatest change, as a consequence of the new régime, will, I am sure, be the abolition of the religious question. For centuries fanaticism has brought misfortune to our land; hereafter we will let religion abide in the mosques and in the churches and in the individual conscience, and all of us will unite under the banner of civilization, and work for the welfare of all.

Till now the Turks were the dominant and ruling race in the Empire; hereafter the country will be ruled by her citizens. The Turk, the Armenian, the Greek, the Syrian, the Jew, the Kurd, the Circassian, all will have equal opportunities; all will represent the Empire. The preference will be given not to the race or religion, but to individual ability and integrity.

Hereafter there will be no more Turkey, but a regenerated Ottoman Empire. Hereafter, instead of fighting each other, instead of brigandage, instead of slaughter of innocent human beings, we will build temples of civilization, of peace, of brotherhood and of progress.

As to our relations with our neighbors and foreign Powers, they will be friendly, and there will be no need of capitulations, which since the fifteenth century have been a means of interference in our internal affairs, and have suppressed our independence in our own country. Instead, treaties and *ententes* with other countries will safeguard our interests as well as theirs.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our representatives in foreign countries, instead of being spies and police agents, will represent the dignity and the integrity of the Ottoman nation and will work for the economic interests of their Fatherland.

The Ottoman Empire, regenerated and reconstructed, instead of being a target for foreign intrigues, will enter the field of international politics.

Most of all I am confident that Great Britain will regain her lost prestige in Turkey; and, through her friendly relations, the regeneration of the Ottoman Empire will be assured. France was the historic friend of Turkey, and there is no reason why anything should be in the way of renewing our old amicable relations with her.

The United States of America will begin intimate relations with Turkey. Hundreds of Ottoman subjects have been educated in the universities and colleges of this country. Some of them will, no doubt, be important factors in Ottoman politics, and they will always look back to the land where they took refuge and where they obtained their education. Thousands of Ottoman subjects who will return to their homes will carry with them American ideas and American ways of living. Will not this make a good bond between the two nations?

Having all due respect for the German race, in view of the peculiar situation of our industrial and economic relations with the German Government, I will say that I hope the regenerated Ottoman Empire will peacefully settle all the economic troubles and see the return of the productive enterprises into native hands, where they rightfully belong. For to strive in order that we may realize "The Ottoman Empire for Ottomans" is our right and our duty.

The Macedonian question being settled through the establishment of the new Constitution, Austria will have no cause for interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Nor is there any cause to fear serious trouble in the direction of the small Balkan States.

Russia for the present is too busy with her internal affairs to mingle in Ottoman politics. Her neutrality is already assured. Probably it will take Russia twenty years for the final settlement of her new régime; moreover, her ambitions in the Far East cannot be said to have died away. She will not forget the repulse

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

she encountered in Manchuria. If the great Muscovite Power is still looking forward to the fulfilment of the will of Peter the Great—the conquest of Constantinople, where the Ottoman Parliament will meet hereafter—she may rest assured that it will remain the centre of the Ottoman nation and of Ottoman progress.

The younger generation of Turkey are looking forward to a strong, regenerated, reconstructed, enterprising and progressive Ottoman Empire. If not to-day, we will make it a reality to-morrow. We are striving to fulfil the wishes of the civilized world. Peace was demanded of us, we have peace now. And we are sure, with all our true friends, the liberty-loving people of America will extend their sympathy to the reformers in their fight for the final establishment of Ottoman freedom.

MUNDJI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SELF-EXPRESSION AND THE AMERICAN DRAMA.

BY PERCY MACKAYE.

FROM age to age, and in every peopled land, a vital instinct, imperishable as fire, appears to be reborn; a bodiless principle, peremptory as some vast genius of the elements, seeks embodiment. Under that yearning Spirit's touch, the institutions of men are as clay; the stubborn neck of custom is docile. Stung by his voice, the nations and the communities awaken, grow articulate, freshly comprehend one another and themselves; moved by his imperious smile, they do his bidding wonderingly. That unwithstandable spirit is the Will-to-Express.

In our own land to-day, that instinct is seeking an old instrument for freshly vital ends; it is seeking the drama to render articulate the American people. In so doing, however, it is only revealing anew its perennial nature. More than once on our soil that instinct has asserted itself. Especially at about the middle of the last century, chiefly in New England, the American genius became eloquent in the forms of literature through the self-expression of men like Hawthorne, Emerson, Whittier, Thoreau, Poe, Whitman, Lowell, Longfellow, Holmes; and the seed of that self-expression has borne hereditary fruit in the works of our American literary artists during the generations since then.

Not until very lately, however, has that same seed—the incentive to self-expression—lodged itself in the heart and mind of the American dramatist. Indeed, so little is such a motive associated by the general public with their conception of the drama's function, so seldom is the dramatist himself considered in the light of an integral artist, that it becomes the somewhat anomalous task of one who would seek self-expression through

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the drama as a fine art to elucidate and justify his alleged right to so unprecedented a vocation. That a writer of plays should assume the same independent position in art as that which has long since been yielded by public approbation to the writer of novels or essays or poems, is considered by an astonishing majority of intelligent persons as an untenable assumption.

Why, we may ask, is this so? Why are intelligent persons thus strongly convinced that the dramatist is fundamentally differentiated as an artist from the novelist, the poet, the essayist?

An interesting light—historical and contemporary—is thrown upon this question by a recent interview in the "New York Times" with the late Mr. Bronson Howard, long honored as the dean of American dramatists. Referring to the contemporary drama in English (which he classed as "the work of English and American players and authors collectively"), Mr. Howard is reported as saying:

"All English dramatists are groping in a blind alley. They have stepped aside from the avenue, which I shall designate as the natural growth of the English drama. *The dramatists are ignoring their public. They are writing to please themselves.* They are promulgating work which the people do not want. The proof thereof is the colossal percentage of failures both in New York and London. *There are no logical reasons to account for the present poverty of the stage.* With an increasing population and a growing interest in the stage, the playwrights should be plentiful and their brains should be fertile. I attribute the *present degeneration* of the English drama to the *alluring influence of the Continental playwrights who are providing their own stage lavishly with successful plays.*"

This opinion, expressed by an American dramatist of honorable achievement, represents a very extensive public opinion in America; and, because it is representative, I will take the liberty of trying to analyze Mr. Howard's utterance with a view to answering the question put above: Why is the drama, as a mode of expression, differentiated fundamentally in the public mind from other forms of literature?

"*The dramatists are ignoring their public. They are writing to please themselves.*" This statement (which, for our purposes, I will take as applying simply to this side of the Atlantic), made by one who has been intimately familiar for many years with our native drama and its conditions, corroborates my statement to the effect that not until lately has the incentive to self-expression

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lodged itself in the American dramatist. From the stated tendency, however, I would draw a different inference from Mr. Howard's: not the "degeneration" of the present drama, but its regeneration. In support of this inference, I would cite a comparison—an American comparison—between the present period of our native drama and the New England period of our native literature in its beginnings. And in this connection I would suggest the following queries:

If Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his own day, had *not* sufficiently ignored his contemporary public to write to please himself, how much would the public of this day—how much would the public of to-morrow—desire to read his works?

And again—what is, perhaps, even more to the point: If he had *not* written to please himself, would Hawthorne have written at all? Would his genius have expressed itself?

If Emerson, Whittier, Whitman, Lowell, in their noblest and most successful utterances, had not been moved to expression by an inner necessity, but, instead, had been moved by the outward necessity of ascertaining what their public wanted them to say, would the public of their day, of this day and of to-morrow, be the richer or the poorer?

And again: If by some miraculous dispensation those same poets, reborn with the instinct and knowledge of stagecraft, were to-day writing for our stage to please themselves, would their writings be, therefore, degenerative to our drama?

Such queries, and the deductions they suggest, may ring strange in minds unaccustomed to correlate the drama with literature.

In any event, it may be retorted, the times of those American poets were different times from these. In those days, the American public was attentive, far more than to-day, to the voice of literature for leadership and counsel and inspiration, and therefore it behooved those literary leaders to remember their responsibility and maintain their highest personal standards of expression accordingly. To-day, things are different; to-day, "with an increasing population and a growing interest in the stage," the public is turning yearly more and more away from literature proper toward the theatre as the seat of a great and vital public influence. Times are changing. The vehicle of national expression is different.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To be sure, it is different: but *how* different? Doubtless, the drama is an *other* vehicle than the lyric, the poem or the novel; but is it, of its nature, *so* different from those forms of literature that it is functionally unfitted to become an instrument for leadership, and counsel, and inspiration? And if it is not unfitted, what then of its leaders? Does it not behoove them all the more to remember their responsibility to their own time and to maintain their highest personal standards accordingly? In other words, does it not to-day behoove our dramatists, for the public's sake, "to please themselves"? "to ignore their public" to the extent of wisely serving it?

For in this phrase "to ignore the public," what precisely do we mean by "the public"? The demands of the public, of course. Yes, but do we mean the reasonable demands of the public, or the foolish demands of the public? One or the other of these, of course, we *must* ignore; but can there be any hesitancy as to which? Or if the public, by the nature of its theatrical education, persists in making only foolish demands, shall we therefore be sceptical of human nature, or of the nature of present theatrical education? No; our dramatists cannot believe too staunchly in the inherent human worth of the public: But it is precisely because they have so long ignored in the public the fine and beautiful instincts which are potential in it, and catered instead to the petty and ignoble instincts which are actual in it, that our dramatists have expressed so little of lasting service to the public. Yet, if we are to uphold in American drama standards of American achievement in literature, this custom of ignoring potential fineness in the public must be rejected.

"Times change" is, indeed, a potent proverb, which is, however, modified perennially by another: "History repeats itself." As the stimulus to self-expression, which, at the beginning of our New England literary period, bodied itself forth in the works of Hawthorne, Emerson and "The Transcendentalists," had its origin in the influence of independent Continental thinkers, so in the present decade the initial impulse to self-expression in the awakening art of the drama is, doubtless, traceable (to quote Mr. Howard conversely) "to the alluring influence of the Continental playwrights," who are not only "providing their own stage lavishly with successful plays," but are doing this *because* they are independent thinkers writing to please themselves.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The chief contrast of their Continental conditions to ours, of course, is this: that their Continental public has long since been educated (by the endowed nature of its theatres) to *demand* of its dramatists that they shall please themselves; in other words, to demand of their dramatists *leadership,* in taste and art and ideas; and the most potent and convincing leaders there are followed most loyally by the public. In brief, the Continental public has gone dramatically to school for several centuries; it is artistically "grown up" reasonable, mature. Ours has been left to shift aimlessly for its schooling—practically unprovided by our theatres with formative discipline in art, good taste or ideas; while it has spent its time crying for meaningless diversion, with which (for a consideration) it has been provided *ad nauseam,* to the result that, like the spoiled child, it has lost all idea of what it is crying for. Yet this principle of humoring the spoiled child, frankly admitted as such, is the basic principle on which our dramatists are asked—nay, required—like it or lump it (if they are able), to upbuild a modern national drama commensurate with that of Europe. Obviously, in such an international contest, there is involved a handicap. In fine art, or football, a fair start is part of the real game. How, then, before our game begins, to achieve the fair start?

Mr. Howard says we must not "ignore" the aimless cry of the public; otherwise our work will "degenerate." We must not adopt the Continental principle of pleasing ourselves as artists; otherwise our plays—unlike the Continental plays—will fail. But Mr. Howard probably meant something different: namely, that we must not *imitate the technique nor appropriate the message* of Continental art; but that we must express ourselves in our own way. With this I beg leave heartily to agree. But if he meant this, he (and with him a large public opinion) strangely confused in utterance the real issue of our dramatic problem, which is—the necessity for self-expression by our dramatists, as leaders, not as followers, of the public.

Leadership: here is the heart of our discussion, and the answer to its question: Why is the drama fundamentally differentiated in the public mind from other forms of literature? Here is the answer.

Literature in all ages has been the voice of leadership. Whether in art, or scholarship, or religion, or æsthetics, or statecraft,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

self-expression, the voice of independent contemplation, the utterances of leadership, and alone of leadership, have raised themselves to the rank of literature. As such they have gained the reverence of time for large public service. The speech of Lincoln at Gettysburg, the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," the Comedy of "The Tempest," each is an utterance of self-expression, without which none of them would be literature.

Literature, then, by charm, and exhortation, and delight, has uplifted, has *led* the public. The drama is filled with potential charm, exhortation and delight; but in our country (which is our present concern) the drama has failed to enlist those its puissant capacities in the cause of leadership. By neglect, or refusal, or prohibitive circumstance, it has failed to lead the public. Rightly, therefore, public opinion has cast the drama forth from literature; naturally, the public mind has dissociated the theatre from all relationship to institutions for the public weal.

Nevertheless, the public mind has not done this consciously, by thoughtful analysis of the drama and the theatre in their real nature. Instead, the public mind, from habit considering the theatre a concern merely of its leisure moments, has simply not considered the nature of the drama at all—except in its transmogrified aspect as a kind of varicolored cordial wherewith the public is recommended to aid its after-dinner digestion—or dyspepsia. In this capacity, it receives notorious attention in the daily newspapers, where it is diligently exploited and advertised, being, according to its various brands and samples, vouched for or condemned by expert tasters and epicures.

We have referred, however, to the drama in its true nature and function. Doubtless to the interests of that, a submerged minority of the public is already devoted. But likewise that minority tends to differentiate the functions of drama and literature. Why? Have we wholly accounted in our discussion for this fact? I believe not. The reason, I think, lies in a certain real distinction between the nature of drama and that of other literary forms. It is this—an obvious distinction, yet frequently ignored in critical estimates of plays.

The completed work of the dramatist is not the completed work of the theatrical producer. Unlike the finished manuscript of the writer of novels, lyrics or essays, which has only to be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mechanically copied and printed, in order to serve its public purposes, the finished manuscript of the playwright must be bodied forth and interpreted, physically and psychically, by a considerable number of living personalities—actors, scene-painters, stage-managers, etc. Indeed, we must seek an allied art, not of words, but of music, in order to cite an adequate analogy.

The composer of a symphony completes his task when he completes his score: the public purpose of his score, however, is consummated by the director of a symphony orchestra, by means of his musicians and their instruments. Thus the printed manuscript of Shakespeare is *functionally* more closely related to the printed score of Beethoven, than it is to the printed manuscript of Milton.

Yet the mere outward likeness of the printed texts of dramatists to those of other writers has been a perennial occasion for unsound literary comparisons. So far, however, have the standards of just musical appreciation already exceeded the standards of dramatic and literary criticism, that the musical critic who should confuse the accomplishment of a First Violin with that of Beethoven would probably attract public remark; whereas the unfathomable identification of Garrick and Sir Henry Irving and Mr. Sothern with Shakespeare continues to pleasurably confound the unconscious readers and play-goers of the generations.

It is in this regard that the growing custom of publishing the texts of modern plays is serving a useful purpose of public enlightenment. By this, of course, I do not refer to the more widespread custom of publishing, in connection with the production of a play, a novelization of its plot, usually designated as the "Book of the Play," for this custom, by a confusion of ideas, only obscures more darkly than before the ends and means of dramaturgy. But the actual naked text of the play itself serves to inform the reader, who is also a play-goer, in the first principles, so to speak, of the anatomy of the dramatic idea; to train him, as a reader, to forecast in his own mind the play's production, and, as a play-goer, to criticise the play as the naked image which production is truthfully to clothe. It is this unusual demand upon the imagination and understanding of the reader which makes the reading of plays, as yet, somewhat unpopular; but it is this same reaction of mind upon text which causes play-reading, as a pleasure, almost never to pall, but increasing the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appetite by custom, to dissatisfy one thenceforward with all less imaginative kinds of reading. Consulting the play's text as the score, so to speak, of the dramatist's symphony, the reader becomes familiar at once with the creative idea and with the essential requisites of its interpretation.

The beneficial results of this more intimate understanding of the ends and means of dramaturgy are, with time, likely to be far-reaching. For with the resulting enlightenment of his public, the dramatist himself will be held inevitably to higher and higher standards of execution; for there in his text he may not hide a poverty of ideas behind the riches of theatrical production, nor sterility of imagination behind the stage carpenter, nor defective characterization behind the resourceful genius of the actor; but, instead, any false slip in his human construction, any distortion in technique, any shamming of ideal, will become the more glaring to his vigilant critic, the reader of his text.

So, too, a skilled reader of plays becomes an informed playgoer; he will judge a theatrical performance as the interpretation of a dramatic idea; he will judge acting as a mode of objectifying the creative art of the dramatist. So, from having been merely a layman, he will—by clarification of his standards—become an artist, and his art will be criticism. Thus, by a strong spiral of mutual enlightenment, the actor too will mount to ever higher standards of his special art—interpretation. No longer receiving applause for the substitution of personality for impersonation, and prevented, by informed public opinion, from assuming an irrelevant dictatorship for subordinating the dramatic idea to his own caprice, the actor in his proper function will fall newly in love with his vocation as the subtlest and noblest of symphonic players—the artist of the human instrument.

In such a rational harmony of functions, there should at last be basis for the existence of a vocation now practically non-existent, save as it is temporarily assumed, with deficient powers or training, by dramatist, actor, stage-manager, theatrical-producer, or by these in succession, or by all at once, to the consequent confusion of the dramatic idea: I mean, the vocation of *theatrical director,* into whose hands—as into the hands of the orchestra director, the composer submits his score—the dramatist should be able to submit his text, with secure confidence of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its being properly rendered to the public. Over all the multitudinous factors and instruments of theatrical performance, this director, trained thereto as his special life-work, should be absolute master, and his function and responsibility would be to effect by those instruments the harmonious interpretation of the dramatic idea—the play.

So much for a glimpse toward rational conditions which do not exist. The contrasted existing conditions of maladjustment between the play and its theatrical production constitute a second powerful reason why the drama is divorced from literature in the minds of intelligent persons. For these persons, from constantly viewing the production of plays by a theatre unqualified to produce plays without distortion, become accustomed to view the distorted result as the dramatic idea, mistake the production for the play itself, the actors for the *Dramatis Personæ*. The manner of acting or producing a play becomes for them no longer a means, but an end in itself. Thus they come to misconceive the end and object of dramaturgy, conceiving that object to be interpretation instead of expression. Because a play, unlike a novel or essay, must, by its nature, be interpreted to fulfil its function, they conceive its function to be interpretation. But interpretation of what? Why, of the actors, scenery, etc. And so a great number of our plays themselves have actually come to coincide with this distorted conception. Thus the art of the drama is turned wrong side out, the functions of play and actor are reversed, and the play itself becomes a mere vehicle for interpreting to its audience the personality of an actor, or the ingenuity of a stage-manager.

Obviously, intelligent persons will not view such an interpretative vehicle as a form of literature, since literature primarily is expression. How, then, shall these persons be persuaded that such vehicles are not true plays? How shall they be enlightened as to the true function of dramatic art?

As a means to this end, I have referred to the publication of the texts of plays; but I would not, of course, be construed as meaning that printing and reading plays can alone produce the desired effect. Many other factors of knowledge and emancipation must contribute to that. I mean only that the custom of publishing plays will become at least a real drop in the great empty bucket of public enlightenment concerning these things.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the printed play will gradually accustom the American public to realize, as the public in France and Germany has long since realized, that the dramatic form is a legitimate form of self-expression, so that the universal publishing of plays will become as normal a custom as the universal publishing of novels. At the same time the public will become expert in the special art of reading plays, and thereby it will learn to judge them by standards not of the so-called "closet-drama" (whose hybrid standards are corruptive of sound dramaturgy), but by those of the theatre.

But—I hope it will be retorted—by standards of *what* theatre? By standards of the theatre, discordant, uncorrelated, misdirected, as we know it to exist, or by standards of the theatre as we have glimpsed it above,—harmonious, symphonic, directed by a rational unity? The answer to this question is all-important to the subject we are discussing.

To one who seeks authentically to express himself in the forms of drama, it becomes sooner or later a temptation to ask himself: Shall I express the dramatic ideas which are demanding utterance within me, because I consider them beautiful, or critical of life, or otherwise worthy of communication and adapted to stagecraft, albeit they are better adapted for interpretation by unrealized rational conditions of the theatre than by irrational existing ones? Or shall I, rather, choose to express only those dramatic ideas within me, or seek elsewhere at second hand for those without, which are readily adaptable to existing conditions and the open market? In words appropriate to our analogy: Shall I try to write a symphony because I like to, albeit if produced there is only a leaderless, disorganized orchestra to perform it? Or shall I write a popular march, albeit I do not like to, because it is likely to be performed by the said orchestra?

However the dramatist may answer these questions for himself, it is certain that only one answer can result in literature and in real contribution to art. For the work which is not the utterance of an inward creative joy is not a work of leadership, nor of large public service. No; it is far better that our playwrights should remain sterile, than that they should supply a meaningless demand of the public. There is far less need of so-called "practical" plays that may be easily produced by a theatre misqualified in the art of production, than there is need of a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

really practical theatre which shall stimulate and fulfil the demands put upon it by plays comprehending the entire dramatic scope of self-expression. For such a theatre there is precedent—the much-cited *Théâtre Français,* for example—yet what need is there of precedent, when the issue is plain?

Either there can be no adequate self-expression in our drama, or there must be a theatrical institution adapted to interpret and stimulate such expression.

In America, the unprecedented promise of our people, the nature of our human resources comprising the world's inheritance, give sound reason for believing in the practical establishment of such a theatre—unprecedented in efficacy of high public service. To this end, it is incumbent upon all citizens and artists to whom the theatre is a living influence, to consider the above issue and help to solve it rationally.

But as the seat of the initial creative power of the theatre, it is perhaps most incumbent upon the mind of the dramatist to emancipate its powers. That it will do so there is no reasonable doubt. The continuity of American literature will not cease at the theatre's doors. A new century, beautiful and terrible in portent, charged with unexampled passion and delight, waits to be expressed. Already the tide of ordained expression sets toward the art of the drama: the result is inexorable. An institution which shall fail, or refuse, to become the responsive instrument of such an art will decline in power, and another shall rise in its place, and subserve the Will-to-Express.

PERCY MACKAYE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ITALY AND THE TRIPLICE.

BY SALVATORE CORTESI.

"ITALY is now going through a difficult but valuable period for her future; she has become the Don Juan of diplomacy—that is to say, she is in the embarrassing position of having to choose between Donna Anna and Donna Elvira, or, to be more exact, between her allies and her friends." This is how one of the most prominent diplomatists of Europe has defined the present situation of the peninsula. The truth is that Italy, without having the ambition to be a real Don Juan in her foreign policy, has always aspired to protect her interests by being in good relations with all her neighbors. She understands that it is only through a long period of peace that she can develop her internal resources, many of which are still in a virgin state, and bring about that resurrection of her gifted sons of the Southern provinces which will prepare the way for further greatness to come.

The present young Kingdom was not yet entirely united when, in 1869, she was asked to participate in a Triple Alliance with France and Austria to oppose Prussia, whose aspirations towards supremacy in Europe were already evident. The scheme failed through the refusal of France, due especially to the influence of the Empress Eugénie, to withdraw her troops from Rome and therefore allow the Italians to occupy their historic capital. When Count Nigra, then Italian representative at Paris, made the solution of the Roman question a condition *sine quâ non* to the conclusion of the alliance, Emile Ollivier answered that to abandon the Pope would be cowardice of which France would never be guilty. Count de Beust, Austrian Chancellor, insisted to the very last moment, and General Türr went purposely to Paris, but received, on July 29th, 1870, the definite answer from the Duc de Gramont, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the least concession about Rome was impossible—"*si l'Italie ne veut pas marcher qu'elle reste.*" Less than two months thereafter, France was defeated and Italy entered Rome.

From that moment the whole of Europe has been—although no Power will publicly confess it—under the constant preoccupation of a new war, the war of *revanche*. Italy at first thought she might be able to balance herself between the two rivals, trying to especially propitiate France, which, more than any other country, could be injurious to Italian interests in the Mediterranean; and, at the same time, she did all in her power not to come to a rupture with Austria, notwithstanding the Irredentist agitation which claimed the completion of the Kingdom by the occupation of Trent, Triest and Dalmatia. She hoped that a favorable occasion would arise on which that rectification of frontier which would have been one of the conditions of the proposed Triplice in 1869 would be possible; but a first great disillusion awaited her at the Berlin Congress of 1878, when she was practically the only country which, being isolated, obtained no advantages, while to Austria was granted the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Italians thought should have brought in exchange the cession to them of a portion of the Province of Trent. More than ever, Italy's hopes turned to France, so much so that she refused to intervene with England in Egypt so as not to hurt the susceptibilities of her neighbor, as all the statesmen of that time, Menabrea, Nigra, Corti, Visconti Venosta, Cairoli, Mancini—the last being legal adviser of de Lesseps—thought that neither Italy nor England could do anything in the Mediterranean without France, and, of course, much less against her opposition. The dream most cherished was a triple co-dominion in Egypt between England, France and Italy, and such an understanding as to guarantee to Italy the possession of Tunis, which, with its 50,000 Italian inhabitants, was considered a continuation of Sicily, while its occupation was for the peninsula of greater strategical importance than for the Republic.

In 1877 Prince Bismarck had already informed Count di Robilant, Italian Ambassador to Vienna, through Count Andrassy, that, while Austria would have a free hand in Bosnia and Herzegovina, no obstacle would be raised by the Central Empires to an Italian occupation of Tunis. Rome, however—always not to offend France—rejected the idea even during the Berlin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress, when the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count von Bülow, father of the present Chancellor, confidentially informed Count Corti, Italian Delegate, that he was himself disposed to submit to discussion the question of Italy's going to Tunis. Then Prince Bismarck, who was working to separate Italy from France, made the same proposition to the latter; and, notwithstanding the assurances the French Cabinet had given on this subject to Premier Cairoli, the Republic occupied Tunis in April, 1881, arousing a storm of indignation throughout the peninsula. Strong remonstrances were attempted by Rome; but France made it understood that she was ready for any event, including the capture of Sardinia and the landing of troops at Civitavecchia, while Italy was far from being prepared for warlike enterprises. Contemporaneously, Prince Bismarck frightened Italy with a threat to reopen the Roman question, remarking that, after the constitution of the new Kingdom, the Pope was in Rome either as a prisoner, if he maintained an irreconcilable attitude towards the State, or in a kind of subjection, if he came to an understanding with it. It was, therefore, in the interest of all Powers with Catholic subjects to make their voice heard as to the position made for the Pontiff. It is even asserted that, when Dr. Busch, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, came to Rome, he had the secret mission from Bismarck of proposing to the Pope to temporarily go himself and transport the Papal Court to Fulda. Very likely in all this there was nothing but the desire to produce a certain effect, a design which was perfectly accomplished, as Italy, to escape so many threats, sought refuge in an alliance with Germany, receiving as answer that to go to Berlin it was necessary to pass through Vienna. This led, in October, 1881, to King Humbert's paying the Emperor Francis Joseph that visit which has never been returned, as Italy insisted that any return visit should take place in Rome, while the Vatican decided to excommunicate any Catholic ruler who should visit the Eternal City as guest of the Quirinal. Thus on May 20th, 1882, the first treaty of the Triple Alliance was concluded, consisting of a guarantee of reciprocal territorial integrity among the three contracting parties.

I have recapitulated the principal facts which brought about the Triple Alliance in order that the atmosphere of the international situation of that time might be understood. France,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

still burning with the defeats and humiliations she had suffered, was so sure of the attachment of Italy, bound to her by historical, racial and economic ties, that she neglected her and gradually treated her as a French Prefecture. This attitude and the entire disregard of Italian interests, which culminated with the occupation of Tunis, created between the two countries the abyss which Prince Bismarck had for long been preparing, in order to isolate the Republic, and form round Germany such a union of Powers as would render vain any attempt to disturb the organization of Europe as established after 1870. Italy was, therefore, to a certain extent, obliged to enter the alliance which Germany and Austria had already concluded on October 7th, 1879.

This first treaty of the Triple Alliance was in reality to the entire advantage of Germany, although it had the appearance of recognizing perfect equality between the three Powers, as it guaranteed the territorial *status quo* to each. It must be considered that for Germany the territorial *status quo* was the supreme, indeed unique, interest she had in Europe; was the reason for which the last war had been fought, and for which a new one had been threatened; was, in other words, a question of life or death for her, of maintaining or losing her supremacy on the Continent. On the contrary, the interests of Austria and Italy were not, and are not, limited to the maintenance of their territorial *status quo*. Austria is threatened by what may take place outside her own territory, chiefly in the Balkans; Italy, independently of the maintenance of her territorial *status quo*, has her paramount interests in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic; so, while in the original Triple Alliance Germany had the sum of her interests guaranteed by the other two Powers, the latter could not count on Germany if their interests were threatened or injured outside their frontier. Italy entered the Alliance after Tunis and because of Tunis, showing that her chief object was her interests in the Mediterranean, and to avoid a paramount French preponderance, which would have been inevitable if she had remained attached to France. This last purpose was attained; but, when her other interests were not assured, the alliance lost fifty per cent. of its value in the eyes of the Italians.

Another equivocal point in the Triplice was the statement that its only object was the maintenance of peace and that, therefore, it could not give umbrage to any one. The patriotic

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

atmosphere of France, anxious for revenge after Sedan, must be thought of to understand what the real meaning of peace was for her. It represented a coercion more hateful than war, as it prevented her from again facing her rival, whom, if alone, as in 1870, she thought she might meet with great probability of success. The Powers co-operating in rendering this conflict impossible could not be considered by France but as enemies, almost as much so as if the Alliance had been concluded for aggression against her. Signor Crispi, the strongest supporter of the Alliance, speaking of it before Parliament, on February 4th, 1888, said that it was powerful enough to "impose peace." In conclusion, Germany had nothing more to take from France and her only object was, and is, to continue to defeat her with peace. It was under Crispi that the rupture between France and Italy culminated, making even a war seem probable. It was under him that a military agreement was planned between the three allies, by which, in case of France attacking Germany, Italy pledged herself to send part of her troops through Austria into Baden to fight the invaders. France, however, did not move, understanding the impossibility of fighting alone a combination of nearly 150,000,000 people, not to speak of the *entente* between England and Italy which, under Lord Salisbury, took the character of a real alliance.

These circumstances led to a change in the Triple Alliance which is not generally known, and which was especially urged by Count di Robilant, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Depretis Cabinet, from June, 1885, to July, 1887, and who had never been favorable to the union with the Central Empires. His idea was that Italy, being the weakest, should not have run after the Central Powers, that she should be placed in the alliance on a footing of perfect equality with the others, and that she should insist on having all her interests adequately protected. When Bismarck asked Count di Robilant if he was disposed to renew the Alliance, he let a considerable time elapse and then gave an uncertain answer, making it understood that according to his opinion the special interests of Italy were not sufficiently guaranteed. Bismarck wrote again inviting the Count to formulate the Italian desires, and the note of the Italian Minister was taken both by Bismarck and Kalnoky as the basis for the renewal of the Triple Alliance, for which instead of one single treaty,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as in 1882, three different ones were concluded, one of the most important additions being the agreement that neither Italy nor Austria can undertake any action which might alter the *status quo* in the East without being in accord with the allies.

The Triple Alliance originated in Bismarck's mind when the rivalry between him and Gortchakoff rendered the continuation of a Russo-German understanding impossible. Russia, however, at that time was not yet ready for an alliance with France, and Bismarck in 1884, immediately after the change in the Russian succession and the retirement of Gortchakoff, at the meeting of Skierniewice, concluded a secret understanding with St. Petersburg, which was never communicated to the allied Powers and lasted until the retirement of the Iron Chancellor, who had thus succeeded in completely isolating France.

The Vatican, the policy of which was then directed by Cardinal Rampolla, participated considerably in bringing about the understanding between Paris and St. Petersburg. Indeed, the Secretary of State of Leo XIII had conceived what, from the point of view of the Papacy, aspiring to reconquer the Temporal Power, was a vast and ingenious plan. The Holy See had lost its States as a consequence of the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, and through the defeat of France by Germany. France, thought the Sicilian Cardinal, is too grand, too proud, too rich a nation to remain passive under the humiliation inflicted upon her. Let us put our diplomacy, our influence throughout the world, at her service; let us identify ourselves with her cause to such an extent that the inevitable day on which her *revanche* comes that of the Papacy will come also. The Vatican archives contain documents which prove that Cardinal Rampolla had grounds to consider it sure that, should the death of the Emperor Francis Joseph occur, his successor, then Archduke Rudolf, would not continue in the Triple Alliance, being impatient of what he considered a kind of subjection to Germany, and the constant irritation of Italy's *Irredentism*. Rampolla, therefore, dreamed of another Triple Alliance between France Russia and Austria, helped, if necessary, by Spain, where his influence was great, he having been Councillor at the Nunciature there in 1875, and Nuncio in 1882. The tragic death of Archduke Rudolf, in the beginning of 1889, did not change the plans of the Vatican, as they always believed that on the disappearance

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the old Emperor they would have his heir and the Court in their hands. It was this policy which cost Cardinal Rampolla the tiara in the Conclavé of 1903. What they had not calculated upon was the change which meanwhile took place in France, where the attempt of Leo XIII to transform the Monarchical and Nationalist parties into good Republicans was a complete failure, and where the feeling against Italy gradually softened.

Especially in Signor Crispi's time the Republic fought Italy in all possible ways, wishing to demonstrate that, France being practically the only commercial market of the peninsula and her only financial centre, Italy could not live without her. For ten years, the young Kingdom went through one of the most disastrous of crises, but it came out in a better position, as its products, instead of being dependent on France, had found new outlets in Germany, in Austria, in the Balkans and in South America; and Paris, which had had the illusion of being able to starve Italy, saw her gradually prosper. The renewal of the Triple Alliance by the Marquis di Rudini, in 1891, before it expired and for a double period of time, did not create in France the resentment of past times, it having been explained that all clauses which might have appeared hostile to the western neighbor had been eliminated, and that the Roman Cabinet would be ready to publish the treaty if the other parties agreed. The second Rudini administration, in 1896, has the merit of having laid down the basis of a *rapprochement* between the two countries, through the negotiations for a commercial treaty, ably conducted by Signor Luzzatti, to take the place of the tariff war which by that time was more injurious to the Republic than to the Kingdom. France had learned that Italy would not allow herself to be treated under any aspect as a *quantité négligeable,* while the successful way in which she emerged all the stronger from her difficulties gave her a greater importance in the European concert. Marquis Visconti Venosta, when Minister of Foreign Affairs, took advantage of this fortunate situation to conclude a special agreement with Austria regarding Albania, the two countries pledging themselves to respect the *status quo,* and, on the desire of Italy, the institution of a national Government should the Turkish dominion cease there. He also concluded an understanding with France, so much talked of during the Algeciras Conference, by which Italy disinterested herself in the settle-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment of Morocco and received in exchange the assurance that France would not put any obstacle in the way of an eventual occupation of Tripoli by her.

By this time, the relations between France and Italy had resumed such cordiality that many politicians in Paris and in Rome, favorable to a Latin union, hoped that the end of the Triple Alliance had come. Instead, Marquis Prinetti, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Zanardelli Cabinet, the most friendly to France since the occupation of Tunis, renewed it in May, 1902, for ten years, without altering a single clause, but with the option of denouncing it after five years. The work of the enemies of the Triple Alliance continued indefatigably with considerable success, attaining the Anglo-French *entente* and the Franco-Spanish convention about Morocco, to such an extent that M. Delcassé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, thought he was on the point of realizing France's chief object, the isolation of Germany. Although the project failed, the procedure of the Algeciras Conference, its conclusion, and the attitude maintained there by the Italian Delegate, Marquis Visconti Venosta, so tactfully seconded by Mr. Henry White, the American Delegate, aroused intense resentment in Germany, where Italy was accused of being a traitor. Contemporaneously, the eternal differences between Austria and Italy over the Italian provinces still subject to the Hapsburg Empire, assumed so acute a phase as to make a conflict between the two allies appear not improbable. Again the end of the Triple Alliance seemed approaching, when Herr von Tschirschky, then German Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to Rome, and left after a few weeks, with the assurance that Italy would not denounce the Alliance in 1907. It was after this agreement, and after the explanation by which it was reached, that Prince von Bülow, in his speech of November, 1906, stated that the attitude of Italy and her Delegate at Algeciras had been correct, considering her difficult position through the agreement between her and France on Morocco, which is not in contradiction with the Triple Alliance.*

* The Chancellor, on the contrary, complained strongly of the attitude of the Italian press, which, he said, did not comply, during that period, with their duties towards the Alliance. And he was right, but he should have added that it was Germany's fault. With the exception of the United States, the "Associated Press" having formed at Algeciras a special office for the occasion, the world was provided with news of the Con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What now everybody, friends or adversaries, must understand is that the Triple Alliance, with Italy in it, is quite different from what it was a quarter of a century ago, when the Alliance was first concluded. This also appears from a recent speech which Senator Tittoni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered before the Chamber, the best statement of the kind ever made in the Italian Parliament. Italy practically remains in the Alliance because it protects her from a war with Austria. The resurrection of the Roman question, which twenty-five years ago Prince Bismarck could still wave as a red rag before Italians' eyes, is no more possible, although Vatican and Quirinal are officially enemies; indeed, they are officially so in order to be able to maintain in reality the best relations. Senator Tittoni made it openly understood that Italy remains in the Triple Alliance on the condition that it shall never compel her to fight England, which, considering the present grouping of the Powers, may also mean not to fight France. In fact, Germany, since the re-establishment of good relations between Paris and Rome, has often expressed the fear that if a conflict should take place between her and the Republic, the Italian Ministry would not send troops against France, or, even if they were willing, they would be prevented from doing so by public opinion manifested in so unmistakable a way as to assume the form of a rising, especially in Milan, where the soldiers, instead of going to the frontier, would be required for internal purposes. Nor can this situation be changed by the threat of an Austrian invasion of Italy, and the "promenade to Milan and Venice" of which the officers of the Dual Monarchy are so fond of speaking. At Italian headquarters, the plans of Austria in case of a war with Italy are well known. They propose, as Admiral Montecuccoli showed in the last Austrian naval manœuvres, to take possession of Ancona, making it the base of their naval operations, while Austrian troops

ference through the French "Havas Agency." Even Germany at the beginning was dependent on Paris, and it was only after a certain time that the German "Wolff Bureau" sent a representative there, but the Italian "Stefani Agency" and the Austrian "Correspondenz Bureau" had no one. Indeed the Austrian press was in no way represented, to the disgust of Count von Welsersheimb, the Austrian Delegate, who considered it almost as a condition of inferiority for his country. So Germany was asking too much—even from impartial press agencies—in expecting to have a Germanophil tone when everything came from a French source.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would land in Apulia, and taking advantage of the still unsatisfactory economic condition of the Southern provinces, would try to make them rise and march north to join with the forces at Ancona, thus threatening the heart of the peninsula and its capital. It is supposed that Italy has entered into certain agreements with the Balkan States, such as the Italo-Servian military Convention, which leaked out and which was, of course, immediately and officially denied, by which she could foment a rising of the Italian provinces subject to Austria and military action in the Balkans which would ensure her the help of half a million rifles.

All these complications will very likely never occur, but it was necessary to mention them in order to come to the conclusion that, in case of conflict between Germany and France, the most that can be obtained from Italy by her allies will be a benevolent neutrality.

SALVATORE CORTESI.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PARADOX OF RESEARCH.

BY JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, PROFESSOR OF LOGIC IN PRINCETON UNIVERSITY.

BECAUSE this is a practical age, and also pre-eminently an age of extensive investigation, it might seem that the chief incentive to research would be the possibility of adding to the store of practical knowledge, and thereby increasing the general efficiency of human endeavor. But, as we read the history of scientific discovery, from the first strivings of primitive thought to the present time, we are impressed with the fact that utility is not always the mother of invention. This is the paradox which confronts us throughout the whole course of the development of scientific thought: If man interrogates nature for the purpose merely of wresting those secrets which shall minister directly to his needs or comfort, he fails to attain his end, or he attains it only in a meagre way; but if, on the contrary, he goes to nature with a desire to know her secrets for their own sake, the revelation often brings with it a wealth of knowledge which, in turn, admits of untold applications as regards the practical conveniences of life. If utility is the sole incentive to research, the results will range on a lower level; if, however, utility is forgotten in the passion to get at the heart of things for their own sake, it sometimes surprises us upon the way. And the reason of this is obvious; for utility, in all practical relations, results from the application of certain underlying principles to the concrete problems of life. The more central and comprehensive the principle, the wider will be its scope of practical application. The principles most fertile in products of utility are often most deeply hidden. They lie at the centre of things; it is only the most searching inquiry which will disclose them. The practical, however simple it may be, is always the embodiment of some theory.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The telephone, the incandescent light, the electric car—these are simply the concrete expression of a great electro-magnetic theory. The bridge swinging free and secure over the stream, self-supported by the exact calculation of its own stress and strain, is merely a set of mechanical laws objectified. If you start in your research with the sole object of solving a specific problem of practical significance merely, the result, if successful, is limited in all probability to the special end in view; on the other hand, if you set yourself the larger problem of investigating certain phenomena which have peculiarly attracted your interest for the purpose of discovering their nature and understanding their laws, then the revelation of a comprehensive principle carries with it a whole world of possibilities. A principle is not one, but many, for it admits of a multiplicity of application which knows no limit. Nature thus sets a premium upon the study of her mysteries for their own sake. There is such a thing as disinterested knowledge as well as disinterested benevolence. There is a scorn of consequence in the intellectual world as well as in the moral which tends in like manner to provoke unhesitating approval and admiration. There is an adventurous spirit in the pursuit of truth, which is under a natural compulsion to explore the undiscovered country. When the challenge of the unknown is once heard, there is a restlessness which is impatient of ignorance, a natural impulse to seek the reason of things, an instinctive curiosity which is not content to see, but which must also understand, and which is a perpetual spur to perseverance through all the exactions of laborious research. Whenever there is this inner constraint, there is a largess of spirit which has no thought of placing a patent upon the output of its brain. The glow of discovery is a sufficient reward, to which nothing can be added save the satisfaction that others share it.

It has been urged, however, that the natural origin of knowledge is to be traced to the effort which is put forth in order to satisfy some felt need. With the conscious and pressing necessities of hunting and fishing, of warfare, of cooking, of domicile and of raiment, man was quick to invent the first crude tools and weapons,—a covering for his body, a roof over his head and utensils in which he might prepare his food and which would prove indestructible when exposed to fire. Later, the pursuits of agriculture and the early beginnings of the arts of commerce

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and manufacture gave rise to the implements and machines representing an infinite variety of inventive skill. It is, however, a primitive age wherein knowledge arises solely in response to the demand of utility. Truly, a higher stage of civilization is reached where there exists a class, however small, which is able to devote its time and energies to the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Such a body of men has been styled the "leisure class." It is a leisure not merely from manual labor and commercial pursuits, but it is above every other thing a leisure from the servitude of utility. Such is the class of philosophers and mathematicians in the early history of Greece. Such is the scholarly class in every age, provided the appellation of "scholarly" is justly merited. The scholar, in his devotion to his subject, in his consecration to the high vocation which he follows, must be one who is emancipated from the domination of the utility idea. Then only is he a free man in the kingdom of knowledge. Bacon has said that the end of all scientific investigation is "the gathering of fruit"—that is, the turning of all discovery to some practical account. The true produce of the scholar's brain, however, is of the nature of seed rather than of fruit, and that of incalculable variety and possibility.

Although the investigator may not have sought that which is useful, yet his discoveries often admit of a direct practical application to the every-day needs and comforts of life; and so the practical value, which, throughout the whole course of his investigations was never sought and never dreamed of, may become realized, nevertheless, in full measure. The secret of nature once discovered becomes the ground of a new form of reasoning; new minds busy themselves with the practical problems which may be suggested by it. Thus in the wake of the discoverers in pure science follow the inventors. The men who were the pioneers in the field of electricity and magnetism labored with a keen interest born of a constraining love of nature, and with no thought of gain save in the discovery of that knowledge which is its own reward. And yet the work of such minds as Oersted, Ampère, Faraday and Henry opened the way to the electric telegraph and the innumerable applications of their electromagnetic discoveries, to the benefit of the race and the progress of civilization. Also, in our own day, the investigations of Hertz in Germany and of Thomson in England, incited and sustained

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by an interest purely scientific, have made the system of the wireless telegraphy possible. The discovery of the rays of Lenard, Becquerel and Röntgen was the result of research which was conducted in a like spirit; moreover, they have led to practical applications in the field of therapeutics and surgery which are of incalculable service; nor is the possibility of their further utility by any means exhausted. The practical value of a truth is often a kind of by-product which direct research does not reveal. The great science of modern chemistry has been built upon the foundations which were laid by the genius of Lavoisier, who brought to his labors a spirit fired by a love of nature for her own sake. However, the practical output of those labors has modified essentially every phase of our modern industrial, domestic and commercial life. The application of chemical truth to the problems of agriculture and physiology, through the brilliant work of Liebig, was possible only because of the toil of the many whose eyes were never upon the goal either of general utility or personal reward. In a quaint old writing of one of the pioneers in chemistry, Beccher, called the "*Physica Subterranea,*" the author speaks of chemists as a "strange class of mortals, impelled by an almost insane impulse to seek their pleasure among smoke and vapor, soot and flame, poisons and poverty." "My kingdom," said he, "is not, however, of this world. I trust that I have got hold of my pitcher by the right handle, the true method of treating this study; for the Pseudo-chymists seek gold, but the true philosophers, science, which is more precious than gold." Such men may be nobly doomed to lives of unrequited sacrifice; but they leave to their fellows what they themselves never possessed,—the means of increased wealth, health, comfort and power.

If utility were the sole incentive to research, that most admirable of all graces, the patience of hope, would often fail; for the practical value of knowledge is slow of revelation. Knowledge, to be practically available, requires in many cases to undergo an aging process. The new wine of truth needs also the touch of time. The most beneficent ends are often so remote that they can be disclosed only after a long series of discoveries, which lead up to them by a natural sequence, but which afford in the process of their unfolding no intimation whatsoever of their ultimate utility. When the utility is not obvious in the first stages of an investigation there is need of a deeper incentive,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so that research may not be abandoned in a moment of discouragement. And discouragement will come very soon if no evidence of practical results is forthcoming.

It is to be observed also that the utility of any portion of knowledge depends, in many instances, upon its combination with other portions of knowledge. Alone, it is barren. It has no utility in itself. But it may contribute certain elements which, in conjunction with others, make for utility of singular value. Darwin, in the line of his own investigations, has drawn attention to the fact that utility in most cases depends upon the co-ordination of various elements which are separately useless. It frequently happens in other fields also that the labors of many minds must be brought together in order to produce practical results of any real significance and value. The solitary toilers may not be able to discern any promise of utility in their separate labors. Their particular contribution is only a fraction, after all; and yet, nevertheless, it may prove to be an essential part of a combined whole whose resultant effects may possess practical value of a high order. The efficiency of the methods of physical science and ultimately the application of its results to practical affairs have been increased incalculably through the brilliant speculations in the field of pure mathematics of men who knew not the language of utility. Others, however, are able to combine their results in such a manner as to give a practical turn to considerations primarily theoretical.

The inventor stands at that point of advantage where many lines of discovery converge. The several independent results he is able to unite and embody in a new machine, a new method, or a new process. Many inventions appear as the outcome of collaboration; the co-workers are not always contemporary; the lapse of time alone may serve to efface their memory. Seldom known and less often appreciated, they nevertheless through their patient efforts contribute those essential elements of knowledge without which the inventor's skill would surely fail of success. We are accustomed to think of the inventor as commanding the forces of nature to do his bidding. He, however, is not dealing directly with the forces of nature, but rather with the ideas which other men have formed of these forces, which they have so interpreted that they can be made plain and be put into words and reduced to the expressions of law and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formula. The inventor is not merely engaged in the task of fitting part to part of a machine; he builds with rarer material. He is building an idea which is a composite. The elements which enter into its texture are the thoughts of men.

It is to be noticed also that a mind exclusively bent upon the idea of utility necessarily narrows the range of the imagination. For it is the imagination which pictures to the inner eye of the investigator the indefinitely extending sphere of the possible,—that region of hypothesis and explanation, of underlying cause and controlling law. The area of suggestion and experiment is thus pushed beyond the actual field of vision. But, if utility is the sole end of research, the scope of imaginative inquiry is thereby narrowed. There is no comprehensive sweep of the thought, no power of divination, no compelling fancy. Whatever fails to show a face value of utility does not arrest and hold the attention. Significant facts and relations are overlooked. The byways of knowledge are left unexplored in the hot pursuit of the immediately useful. But where there is absorbed and sustained interest in a subject of research for its own sake, the imagination broods over its tasks with a delight and passion which tend to provoke the hidden truth.

In the prevailing tendency in certain quarters to direct research according to the lead of utility, there is a vicious theory of education which is being urged to-day with all the enthusiasm of a new gospel: "Teach the child that all knowledge can be disposed to some useful end. Cultivate early the habit of looking for the practical worth of everything that he learns, and let the student of later years bear constantly in mind that knowledge is power." Such is the doctrine of a bread-and-butter theory of pedagogy. But why push the child out into the current which tends to draw every one into its precipitate flow? In this age of materialistic drift, the idea of practical values and utility considerations need not be taught, nor even mentioned. The fact is, it cannot be escaped; its influence is all-pervading, inevitable. While it is undoubtedly true that the student must be interested in the subject which he is pursuing, let us not, however, confuse as some have done the two radically distinct ideas, of an interest in a subject for its own sake, and an interest in the practical utility which it may be seen to possess. It is possible, and indeed absolutely essential, in my opinion, that the student's

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interest should be stimulated directly by the rich material which certain subjects present, and so the thought be withdrawn, to some extent at least, from the exclusive consideration of present or future application of the knowledge which he seeks to the practical affairs of life. It is true that knowledge is power; but that should not be held out continually to the student as an alluring bait. Knowledge can compel homage and devotion without stooping to offer a bribe, or to cry the value of her wares in the street. There are, moreover, certain indirect uses of knowledge which can never be consciously in the thought of student or teacher during the actual process of instruction. They are too subtle, too far-reaching in their effects, too complex, too cumulative for any one to define, and name and put into the form of a maxim or rule. They cannot be specified and pointed to as the obvious rewards of industry in the pursuit of truth. They constitute not so much the results which knowledge can attain as the atmosphere which knowledge permanently creates,—the finer flavor of thought, the sound reason, the true judgment and the sane appreciation, which are the marks of a richly stored and accurately trained mind. He who lacks in these particulars fails to realize the full measure of his efficiency. And yet it often happens, strangely enough, that this added power in a man's life is missed simply on account of his restricted interests and his impatient haste to acquire only that kind of knowledge which may seem to him at the time to be of some obvious use and advantage in the direction of his life.

This, then, is the paradox of knowledge that he who regards knowledge as his servant is never completely master of that knowledge; but whoever regards himself as the servant of knowledge, he alone is master in the world of thought. There can be no higher standard of scholarship, or a more alluring reward of research than that which is expressed by the old Greek author, Isocrates, in his appreciation of Athens and the part which she played in the history of thought: "So far hath our city passed beyond the rest of men, both in thought and speech, that her disciples are become their teachers; and she hath made the name of the Greeks seem no longer to be the name of a race, but of knowledge. They rather are to be called Greeks who share our training than they who share our descent."

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOR AND THE TARIFF.

BY LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN, FORMERLY GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.

LABORERS are convinced that they fall far short of getting what they earn. Because of this opinion they have sought, in addition to unceasing individual efforts, to increase their wages by combined action. But, notwithstanding the existence and energy of the trade-unions, the belief continues that the workers are insufficiently paid. With this view I fully concur, and feel prepared to assert, as a conservative statement, that the laborer gets less than half of the real wages which are his due. By "real wages," of course, is meant, not the money received from the employer, but the purchasing power of a day's pay as measured in the necessaries of life.

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, when Director of the United States Labor Department, in his report of 1903, estimated that a laboring-man in the United States must work 225 days in order to pay for the absolute necessities of life used in one year by an average family. Manifestly, in such a calculation it is necessary to consider prices as well as money wages. If, for instance, one's pay were reduced by one-half, it would not lessen real wages should all prices also be cut in two.

The laborer ought to be interested very deeply in solving the questions: Why must I work hard for forty weeks in the year in order to keep myself and family from suffering with cold or hunger? If the wages of twenty weeks should easily supply these needs, why is it that I am compelled to slave twenty more weeks for nothing at all? It is to this very natural query of the laborer that I would indicate the correct answer.

Natural Obstacles to Trade.—Intelligent working-men have arrived at the conclusion that production ought not to be impeded. They see the advantage of having a stable government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than anarchy; of light taxes rather than heavy ones; of inventions and improved machinery. The time was when many laborers objected to the introduction of improved processes of manufacture, but most of them have learned better.

But fishing, farming, manufacturing and mining constitute only one step in the task of supplying mankind with needed commodities. The distribution of the things produced is almost, if not quite, as important as their production. The famines which have decimated many nations, two of the worst within the past three years, have been due to lack of transportation rather than to lack of production. In a word, production and distribution are parts of the same process. Both should be as free as possible from obstructions.

In many ways, this self-evident truth is recognized. In the removal of sand-bars and snags from rivers; in the tunnelling of mountains; in the improvement of harbors; in the reduction of freight rates; in the invention of better cars, ships and other means of transportation—a like zeal is exhibited in overcoming obstacles to the distribution of wealth as in promoting its production. The object of all these removals of obstructions is to cheapen commodities to the consumer.

An Artificial Obstruction.—But after an outlay of a tremendous amount of labor and ingenuity in getting rid of natural impediments to freedom of trade, these same shrewd people of the United States have allowed artificial obstructions to be set up. That is to say, thousands of articles, when imported, receive an augmentation in price of something like fifty per cent.

The desire for the necessaries, comforts and luxuries of life has no limit. The purpose of production and distribution is to supply that demand as fully as possible. Is it not plain that, just as every removal of obstacles facilitates sales, so every kind of obstruction diminishes sales? A reduction in the number of sales necessarily lessens the demand for labor and consequently reduces money wages. This is proved by the very fact of the existence of trade. In the early history of this country, as of others, nearly every family built its own house, made its own furniture, chopped its own fuel, manufactured its own clothing, and raised its own food. This condition of things would have persisted, had it been profitable. Now it would be hard to find a family which produces more than a very small percentage of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what it uses. Trade is the order of the day, and this is because it is cheaper to have a division of labor, the worker doing one thing well and exchanging the product for other family needs.

Few persons in any section of this country could be found in favor of interposing a tariff between it and other sections. New England, for instance, would reject as unworthy of consideration a proposition to place custom-houses along the line dividing it from the State of New York. Admittedly, free trade between the States is to their mutual advantage. Just so would be free exchange between Canada and the United States. Equally true is this of the whole world.

Measured by the cost of producing a ton of steel, a case of shoes and a given quantity of a multitude of other commodities, the United States has the cheapest labor in the world. Even now, with raw material, machinery and buildings made costly by tariff taxes, we can, and do, with many of our products, undersell in European markets every other country.

Although the United States furnishes a great market, it is insufficient to take what we produce. By doubling and quadrupling the amount we send abroad, our manufacturing establishments would be kept busy and would multiply in number, thus increasing the demand for labor and its money wages.

Effect on Wages.—But, we are told by interested parties, without a tariff wall this country would be flooded with pauper-made goods. Such an outcome would be very nice for our people, if only it could be brought about. It is the good things of this world that everybody wants. Too many of them are beyond the reach of the laborer. Now, if he could get what he needs in the way of shelter, clothing and other comforts for a mere song, his hours of labor could be reduced and his wages would go much farther. It is not more work, but more commodities, that we are anxious for and need.

Unfortunately for us, no such flooding would occur. True, articles would be cheaper by about the amount of the tax. Clothing, for example, would be reduced in price thirty to fifty per cent. But, in order to import larger values than now, we should be obliged to export more abundantly. This means, of course, more manufacturing, greater demand for labor, and higher wages.

The story which has been impressed most diligently upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American laborer is that the tariff kept wages high. A few considerations will show the utter folly of such a claim.

1. Wages were always higher in this country than in Europe or Asia, and relatively much more so before we had any tariff at all. The original argument for a tariff was that wages in this country were too high.

2. Wages are much higher in "free trade" England than in Germany, France and the other tariff-ridden countries of Europe.

3. Wages are higher in the factories of Great Britain than in those of our Southern States, notwithstanding our tariff.

4. Most of the industries which New England has lost have gone West where money wages were and are higher. High money wages mean cheap production; low wages, as a rule, mean costly production.

Hence it follows, without any question, that the sure result of our tariff has been, and now is, to cut down the money wages paid to laborers in the United States.

All Prices Affected.—Not only do the taxes upon imports, which obstruct our trade with other countries, keep down the pay of the American laborer, but they also add greatly to the price of nearly everything he buys. So, by a double process, the tariff lowers real wages.

Our fifty per cent. tariff increases the price of imported articles by just that amount. Woollen goods which we buy for a dollar and a half a yard could be had, if the tax were removed, for a dollar per yard. In many instances, owing to the fact that the duty is imposed at so much per yard or pound, rather than wholly according to value, the cheaper articles of a class are taxed one hundred per cent. and therefore are doubled in price to the laboring man.

And not only are imported goods increased in cost by the tariff, but home-made articles of the same kind are sold at a price almost equally high. Combinations of manufacturers in this country, brought about by the removal of foreign competition, have succeeded in maintaining prices here far above the cost of production. Mr. Carnegie and other manufacturers of steel were enabled at times to make a net profit of one hundred per cent. in their business. And to-day, steel rails made in the United States, in whose cheapness every laborer is interested deeply, are selling abroad for twenty dollars a ton and here at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

home for twenty-eight dollars a ton. A like statement is true of many other important commodities. Home-produced copper, lead, sugar, farming implements and almost everything else, of which, directly or indirectly, the mass of the people are most in need, are enhanced greatly in price. In so-called "prosperous" years, money wages may be increased twenty-five per cent., but the necessaries of life, on the average, advance fifty per cent.

An Indirect Bounty.—Nor is all this strange. It is the logical result of granting special privileges. For that is exactly what the tariff does. It is nothing more nor less than a bounty to a few. By shutting off in whole or in part the competition of manufacturers of other countries, it enables persons here who have capital invested in the same business to form trusts. With foreign competition excluded by law and home competition excluded by mutual agreement between corporations, prices have been put up outrageously.

Owing to the tremendously increased output of gold, the standard of value, prices have risen all over the world; but in this country they have augmented twice as much as in England, thus proving that at least one-half of the advance here is due to the tariff-created trusts. Of necessity, a bounty can be conferred upon a few only, and must be paid by the many; and this is equally true whether the special privilege be a direct subsidy, or an indirect one bestowed by the shutting out of foreign competition.

It has been argued that the trusts, being enabled to make large profits, will pay high wages. Experience, however, shows that such is not the case. They enter the labor market and pay as little as they can. Investors want as big a return as possible, and never show any disposition to divide their profits with labor. As a matter of fact, additional laborers are coming in from foreign countries all the time.

Even were it true, which it is not, that the money wages of laborers employed in industries subsidized by the tariff were augmented by it, ninety per cent. of the labor of this country would receive no benefit. Farm-laborers, employees of the railroads, men engaged in the building trades, and many others, would not be favorably affected; but by reason of the tariff all of these would suffer when they became buyers.

A Silly Argument.—Is any laborer taken in by the so-called

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"balance of trade" argument? It seems too silly to influence anybody, and yet it is paraded by tariff beneficiaries and their spokesmen on all occasions.

They tell us that in foreign trade our exports are far in excess of our imports, and that this is of great financial benefit to us. On the contrary, if in the course of trade exports really exceeded imports, it would be a great misfortune. We should then be in process of becoming a second Ireland, from which the non-resident landlords export the produce to be spent by them outside of the island which they so largely own. On the other hand, England, whose capitalists have investments in Ireland, the United States, India, Egypt, South Africa, and all over the world, imports far more than she exports. In so far, therefore, as our exports actually exceed our imports we are falling into the condition of Ireland, rather than rising into the commercial supremacy of Great Britain.

The excess of our exports over our imports is not nearly so great as it is represented to be, and it is due to our payments of interest abroad, to the purchase by our own capitalists of securities held or issued in foreign countries, and, finally, to the enormous expenditures abroad by travellers from the United States as compared with the small expenditure of foreign visitors to us. Aside from the exports required to pay these and similar expenses incurred abroad, commodities exported year by year just about equal in value those imported. In other words, trade between any country and the rest of the world is by barter, and is a pecuniary advantage to both parties concerned. In so far, therefore, as our exports exceed our imports we are worse off financially, but in reality the excess is unimportant. The real trouble is that our foreign trade as a whole, our total exports and imports combined, is not one-fourth of what it ought to be, and would be were it unobstructed.

Enlightened Self-Interest.—The truth, then, is that a multitude of laborers work hard, individually and through trade-unions, to get as large wages as possible, and then vote in such a manner as to reduce their real wages fully one-half. It is amazing that men who work for a living should fail to use their reason in so vital a matter. The trusts are putting up prices every day; the customs tariff, as Mr. Havemeyer has said under oath, "is the mother of trusts"; the trust magnates keep a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong lobby at Washington working to maintain the tariff; then many laborers, instead of trying to destroy the oppressive trusts by removing the tariff, do just what the trusts want them to do, namely, vote for the tariff.

Of course, the trust magnates know that the tariff injures the working-man, but they are looking out for themselves and not for him. Those who suffer from the tariff, probably ninety-nine per cent. of the whole people, can very properly vote in their own interests—unless they have arrived at the conclusion which some of the monopolists boldly proclaim, that the people are not capable of self-government, but must allow the captains of industry to rule over them.

"British Free Trade."—But, the laborer may ask, if free trade is so beneficial, why are not real wages in Great Britain higher than in this country? The answer to this has already been given in part, and it may be summarized as follows: Real wages are somewhat higher in England than in this country or on the Continent of Europe. A laborer in England can make a bare living by working 205 days, whilst here he must work 225 days, and in the other countries of Europe even more days. Again, Great Britain's exports must pass over tariffs in order to reach her own colonies as well as the rest of the world, whilst our trade is free throughout the better part of a continent. Finally, Great Britain has a tax upon some imports, and, by means of these and other unjust and foolish methods of taxation, creates monopolies somewhat analogous to those which abound and flourish in the United States. What both Great Britain and the United States need is the abolition of all custom-houses, of every kind of obstruction to freedom of trade.

The tariff is an evil, not merely because it obstructs trade, but also because it is a tax which falls upon consumption. Almost all taxes in this country, National, State and municipal, rest upon the consumer. They fall most heavily, therefore, upon the poor, who consume almost all of their earnings, and most lightly upon the rich, whose outlay for consumption comprises but a minute fraction of their income.

How Support Government?—It follows, therefore, that all taxes upon consumption, as well as upon production, should be abolished. How, then, are the expenses of government to be borne? In a very simple and thoroughly scientific manner.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have a fund, which belongs to all the people, because it has been created by all the people—a value attaching itself to that which was the free gift of Providence to all the people. Already, nominally, in this country, and in less degree in Great Britain, some of this fund is taken in the form of a tax and applied to public uses; but only a small part is so taken. Most of it goes to private individuals, to whom it does not in equity belong, and in whom it vests a wicked monopoly.

The fund to which I refer is the total annual value of all the land in this country which is the property of private corporations or individuals. In other words, all ground rent, including in that term the value of the use of public highways by street-railway companies and other utilities, constituting, as these do, an easement upon the land—that is to say, a partial monopoly.

The total annual value of the land in the United States amounts to a sufficient sum to pay all National, State and municipal taxes; consequently, by turning that into the public treasuries, everything produced by labor can be exempted from the burden of taxation. The removal of taxes from personalty and improvements would lower the prices of all commodities; the imposition of all taxes upon land would lower its price to a nominal sum, thus forbidding its monopoly and opening it up for use, so that, because of the immensely increased opportunities for the self-employment of labor and for the investment of capital, money wages would be greatly enhanced. As we have seen, both the lowering of prices and the raising of wages count as factors in the expansion of real wages. The inordinately rich and the miserably poor would be absorbed into a great middle class, composed of the industrious masses reaping and enjoying the fruits of their own labor.

First Steps to Freedom.—Such is the end at which labor should aim and which it should ever keep in mind. Practically, the first thing to do is to get rid of the tariff. Revision is a step towards repeal and should be encouraged. Genuine reciprocity is another. Every step will increase real wages and will prepare the way for longer strides, and for that complete abolition of custom-houses and other instruments of burdensome taxation, which now transfer the earnings of labor to the pockets of monopoly.

LUCIUS F. C. GARVIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW IRELAND.—VII.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

THE forces that I have so far touched upon—the new forces that are gradually shaping what is nothing less than the regeneration of Ireland—have been mainly political, like the Sinn Féin movement, or ethical and linguistic, like the Gaelic League. In this article I propose to deal with an older and in some ways a more fundamental movement, the movement towards agricultural co-operation; and in doing so I shall hope to throw a certain light upon the realities of Irish politics and of Irish economic character.

The chief, almost the sole, credit for introducing agricultural co-operation into Ireland belongs to one man, Sir Horace Plunkett. In the whole area of Irish public life there is no more attractive figure than his. The younger son of Lord Dunsany, with an ancestry that stretches back in an unbroken line for seven centuries to the early days of Anglo-Irish relations, educated at Eton and Oxford, a Protestant and a Unionist, Sir Horace has broken completely loose from the normal prejudices of his class and creed, and has initiated a revolution which, in my judgment, will have a permanent influence on the economic thought and action, and indeed on the whole character, of the Irish farmer. Too big a man to be squeezed within the narrow ferocities of the ordinary Unionist, too practical and clear-sighted to be satisfied with the froth of Nationalism, he has been abused with equal animosity by both parties. But Sir Horace is triply armed in the qualities of mind and temperament without which even the smallest fraction of the Irish question were best left alone. He has an unconquerable faith, and the sanguine perseverance that goes with it; he is compact of tolerance and practicality; almost alone among Irish public men he mixes his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politics with humor; a singular sweetness of disposition, a reflective, philosophical mind, and an utter incapacity and contempt for the dissimulations of the average politician have combined to make his position, his influence and his labors altogether unique. The great trouble with Ireland is that no Irishman will say what he thinks. In all politics one has to allow for a certain difference between private and public utterances, but in no politics is the difference so profound as in Irish. For bodies to pass resolutions to which all present are secretly opposed; for Irish politicians to deride in conversation and in letters pretty nearly everything that they are engaged in upholding in Parliament and on the platform—these are the every-day phenomena of Irish affairs. Make-believe, a conscious insincerity and the miasma of moral cowardice permeate the entire country. A great deal of Sir Horace Plunkett's influence is due to his habit of candor and truthfulness. He is never bitter or personal, but he is always honest. At times, indeed, his honesty seems almost to have the courage of recklessness. But I am not at present concerned with him as a moral force. He has achieved in himself that synthesis of the practical and the ideal towards which all Ireland is slowly moving. There is, of course, no such thing either as the "Celt" or the "Saxon"; but I shall not, I think, be misunderstood if I say that Sir Horace Plunkett has the sensitiveness, the quick-moving mind and the charm of the one, as well as the directness, the courage of word and deed and the invigorating driving-power of the other. Equally strong and sympathetic, a Wyoming ranchman and an Irish aristocrat, he sees Ireland steadily and whole, and has served her with a loyalty and a fruitfulness that will ultimately rank him among the greatest of her sons.

All he has striven for, all he has accomplished, and the reasons why he chose the precise course he did, are to be found set forth in his memorable book, "Ireland in the New Century." Sir Horace was the first to see and to proclaim that the Irish problem at bottom was not a racial, political, economic or religious problem, but a human problem—a problem of the Irish mind and character. He admits altogether—no Nationalist could do so more completely—the results of history, of long centuries of English persecution and misgovernment and of the failure of either people to understand the other. But he holds that "great

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as is the responsibility of England for the state of Ireland, still greater is the responsibility of Irishmen"; that the Irish through their absorption in a peculiarly rhetorical form of politics, their habit of living in the past, their overconfidence in legislation as a cure for economic ills and the defects of their character and temperament—their "lack of moral courage, initiative, independence and self-reliance"—have aggravated the results of English misrule; and that their duty now is to overcome these defects, to cultivate a salutary individualism and to turn their thoughts to the ways and means of immediate and practical improvement. To do this what was needed was a positive Irish policy, springing from the people, and dependent for its success upon their own powers of application and energy. The form such a policy should take was prescribed by that characteristic of the Irish people which Sir Horace was the first both to appreciate and to utilize—their clannishness. It is a trait which shows itself not alone in their politics, but in their conception of home —witness the Irish colonies in the American cities—and in their instinctive organization of society. They have pre-eminently the associative qualities; then let them associate. The Irish problem on its economic side is predominantly agricultural; then let them associate in agricultural work. Such was the central idea, simple as all great ideas are, of the Plunkett policy. It suited the national genius; it established a connection between economic fact and inherited instincts; it filled a great material need.

For consider what was the position of the Irish farmer twenty years ago. Alone, or all but alone, among European producers, he had made no effort to adjust himself to the changes that had transformed agricultural economics. Within the last half century the whole business of farming has been revolutionized. Competition is no longer local, but world-wide—I am writing, of course, from the European standpoint. Vast tracts of virgin soil have been opened up in the uttermost parts of the earth. Methods of production, of preservation and of carriage have been so marvellously improved that to eat in one hemisphere what has been grown in another is an occurrence too familiar to be even realized as a constant fact. Huge and hungry towns have sprung up, insistently demanding produce in bulk, at regular intervals, in fresh condition and of uniform quality. On the Continent, these new conditions have been met by a free and intelligent use

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of co-operation. The farmers—of Denmark, particularly, but to some extent of all European countries—have banded themselves together for the purchase of all the raw materials and mechanical requirements of their industry at the lowest cost and of the best quality. They are thus enabled to produce more abundantly and more cheaply. They have combined for the improvement of all classes of live-stock, for the manufacture of butter, bacon and many other products. They have organized themselves for the purposes of insurance at the lowest rates and for the yet more vital purpose of creating, by mutual support, the credit required to bring in a large and constant flow of capital. Above all, co-operation, besides increasing the volume and lowering the cost of production, has made it possible for them to control the whole process of modern marketing, to collect in bulk, to regularize and standardize their consignments, and to forward them at a minimum expense for transit and distribution. State aid, too, has assisted them, but less by direct subsidies than by providing them with opportunities for scientific and technical instruction. Now, of this great movement, which, as I have said, has literally transformed the practice and possibilities of agriculture in all the chief European countries, there was hardly, twenty years ago, a single trace in Ireland. The Irish farmer remained an isolated unit. While his rivals on the Continent were forming organized, pliant and cohesive trusts, he stuck stolidly to the ancient ways. Paying as an individual the highest price for his seeds, manures and machinery; without capital or credit or any chance of getting any; at the mercy of the railways and the middlemen; unable to profit by improved appliances; wasteful, unscientific and unsystematic—he lost one by one all the advantages that his nearness to the English market should have brought him. There could be but one end to so unequal a struggle. He was fast drifting into a position as helpless as that of a small American refiner in the grip of the Standard Oil Company. The ruin which in the dark days of restrictive legislation England had deliberately wrought for Irish manufactures was now being invoked upon Irish agriculture by the Irish farmers themselves.

It was in 1889 that Sir Horace Plunkett launched his co-operative movement. The press jeered, the politicians swore, the priesthood sat on the fence and the people presented a solid mass

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of sceptical, suspicious and hidebound apathy. There were years of thankless and heart-breaking work. Sir Horace addressed fifty meetings before a single society was formed. Gradually, however, economic truth filtered through, a creamery sprang up here, a poultry society there, an agricultural bank somewhere else. By 1894, the movement had got beyond the control of a few individuals, and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society was formed for its further direction and expansion. This society owed nothing to Government support. All the cost of its offices, organizers and lecturers was borne at first by private individuals and by subscriptions from the societies it formed. These societies have multiplied till they now cover Ireland with a network of co-operation. Their number to-day is 953; their turn-over exceeds $11,500,000; their membership totals 96,500 — representing, I suppose, over 400,000 persons. Their organization is simple and uniform. The basis of membership is the possession of one or more shares; the liability of members is limited to the number of their shares; all members, whatever their holdings, have an equal voting power; an elected committee is responsible for the management of each society; interest is limited to five per cent.; and the remaining profit is distributed among the members in proportion to their trade with the society. Of the 953 societies, 356 are co-operative creameries, the members of which receive the full market price for their milk all the year round, have all the advantages of modern science in dealing with their dairy produce, and themselves pocket all the profits from the output of butter. There are, besides, 172 Agricultural Societies which purchase artificial manures, seeds, feeding stuffs and machinery at wholesale prices and of approved quality. Some of them have bought expensive machinery for joint use; others have rented grass farms which are grazed co-operatively; several have purchased premium sires for the improvement of their live-stock; all are now turning their thoughts to the co-operative sale of produce. There are 270 Credit Societies, whose value to the small farmer may fairly be called incalculable. By joining one he is able to raise money at five per cent. on the joint and several unlimited liability of all the members, so long as he can show to the satisfaction of the managing committee that the money is to be spent on productive purposes. In addition, there are Poultry Societies for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the disposal of eggs and chickens; Bee-keepers' Societies; Flax Societies for the cultivation of the raw material of the great Belfast factories; and a crowd of miscellaneous societies for the promotion of home and cottage industries. Indeed, the co-operative movement has found in Ireland a soil so congenial that it has already begun to pass into the second—the federating—stage of its growth. In this stage the societies themselves, to prevent them from cutting one another's throats, and to promote their economic efficiency, are banded together into Federations. Three such Federations already exist, one for the combined sale of the butter produced by the co-operative creameries, the second for the joint purchase of seeds, manures, machinery, etc., on behalf of the Agricultural Societies and for the sale of their products, and the third for the disposal of the eggs and chickens of all the co-operative Poultry Societies. But the field is not yet by any means filled up. A splendid and inspiriting beginning, but still a beginning only, has been made; and it may need another twenty years of unremitting effort before Ireland becomes, like Denmark, a vast national trust for the production and sale of all agricultural produce.

But the beneficence of Sir Horace Plunkett's work is not to be estimated in numbers and money alone. The increase in the farmers' revenue, and especially the increase in its stability, have, of course, been very great; and it is an immense achievement that the aggregate turn-over of the movement from its beginning should have amounted to well over $60,000,000. But, in the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, the merely material benefits conferred by co-operation are far from being the most important. It is a great thing that co-operation should now be accepted as a fixed part of Ireland's rural economy. But it is a greater thing that it should have been the means of bringing together men who had either never been united before or were united only for purposes of political agitation. It has given the Irish peasant almost the only business training he has ever received. It has taught him responsibility and self-confidence; it has conquered his distrust of himself and his neighbors; it has both brightened and enlarged his horizon. To a very real extent it may be said to have filled the gap so scandalously neglected by a system of education that is still far from acknowledging Ireland to be, above all things, an agricultural country. Moreover,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the thousands of meetings that have been held in connection with it, meetings attended by men of all classes, creeds and parties, have mitigated the asperity of social, political and sectarian strife, have made for comradeship, mutual understanding and tolerance, and have opened up a new and non-contentious sphere for united, constructive effort. It was the first movement that suggested to the Irish mind that work could achieve what agitation and politics could not. Its success and the spirit of self-help it was founded on and fostered led directly to the formation of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the youngest and by far the most useful of all official institutions in Ireland. All the movements, indeed, that are to-day seeking constructive ends by non-political and non-sectarian routes derive the impulse that alone made them possible from the gospel of self-reliance preached by the co-operators. It is the solitary public enterprise in Ireland that foreigners study, not as a warning, but as a fruitful guide and example.

There are two reasons why the development of co-operation is to-day more than ever necessary to the greatest of all Irish industries. One is that the Department of Agriculture can only achieve its best results if it is enabled to work with farmers, not as isolated individuals, but as organized bodies. The other and far more momentous reason is that Parliament has decreed that Ireland is to be a land of peasant proprietors and must ultimately pledge the Imperial credit to the extent of about $750,000,000 in order to transfer the title-deeds in the soil from the landlord to the tenant. Now, the ultimate security for the repayment of this colossal loan is the capacity of the Irish farmer and the Irish peasant to make agriculture pay. The whole success of the Land-purchase Acts rests fundamentally on that. If the new owners cannot derive sufficient profit from the soil and from the farm to provide for the punctual remittance of the instalment-money, bankruptcy and chaos are the inevitable results. For the first time, Ireland is brought face to face with the realities of a competitive agricultural existence. For the first time, the question for her is not who is to own the soil, and how little he is to pay for it, but how much can he get out of it. Throughout most of the country, the struggle over the rent and ownership of the land has ceased or is ceasing. The infinitely more momentous struggle for a living on the land has just be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gun. Hitherto, the Irish agrarian problem has been mainly social and political. Henceforward, it will be mainly technical and economic. The prosperity of the peasant proprietors, on which everything, literally everything, depends, cannot be secured by agitation, or by politics of any kind, but simply and solely by work. The difficulties are immense. The Irish, as I have before insisted, have never been an agricultural, but always by instinct and tradition a pastoral people. Their bent is not towards farming and tillage, but towards stock-raising. The new proprietors, taken as a whole, have neither the technical skill nor the education nor the capital nor the business experience to equip them for their responsibilities. Large numbers of them, too, are in debt to the local "gombeen-man"—the Irish rural money-lender,—and the great peril of the future is that, after exhausting the soil by inefficient tillage and after dabbling unsuccessfully with stock-raising, they will be forced out of an independent existence, and their lands will pass into the hands of the money-lender and the publican. "And if that happens," said to me an experienced land-agent, who firmly believed it would happen, "God help Ireland! Talk of the cruelty of the English to the Irish—it is nothing compared with the cruelty of the Irish to one another. The gombeen-man, turned landlord, will be ten times more avaricious and mean and tyrannical than the worst member of the old type of English absentee. He will wring the very vitals out of any man he has in his power. Let me tell you frankly, there is still a chance that the tragedy of Ireland's future may equal the tragedy of her past."

One thing, and one alone, can avert so hideous a disaster and can establish the new order in the prosperity which is the condition of agrarian peace—co-operation. Without co-operation other agencies must inevitably fail. As a community of small stock-raisers the peasant proprietors are doomed. As a community of small isolated farmers, vainly struggling against Transatlantic competition and the highly organized societies in which the producers of the Continent have enrolled themselves, their fate is not less certain. Ireland ought to be, and might be, a second and more prosperous Denmark. She can only become so if the new owners are taught to organize every detail of their business along co-operative lines. Co-operation in Ireland, however, has to encounter obstacles such as nowhere else exist. In particular, it has to face

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the hostility of the political machine which elects four-fifths of the representatives of the country. The Irish Nationalists have a trade, a personal and a political objection to agricultural co-operation. The personal objection is simply that Sir Horace Plunkett originated the movement and still guides it. Sir Horace is obnoxious to the Nationalists on several grounds. He is a Unionist who has often with playful satire pricked the bubble of Nationalist rhetoric. He is the author of many books and pamphlets on Irish affairs, in some of which he has disputed the favorite Nationalist contention that British misgovernment alone is responsible for Irish ills, and that to lay even a fraction of the blame upon the Irish themselves is little less than treason. Finally, his outspokenness shames their plausibilities; and, by the side of his reasoned and constructive achievements, the scum and fury of their rhetoric seem like the ineffectual beating of a tom-tom. Then, again, the Nationalists resent the building up of an organization of nearly 100,000 farmers on a non-partisan basis and for other than political ends. It looks suspiciously like an attempt to regenerate Ireland from within, and their case has always been that Home Rule alone can effect that miracle. It looks like an attempt to substitute practical work by Irishmen in Ireland for the magic properties of political agitation, constitutional readjustment and English-made laws. It looks even like an attempt to maintain that the agrarian question at bottom is a question of productivity and not, as the Nationalists have declared it to be, of rent and ownership. Moreover, when nearly 100,000 farmers, practically all of whom are Unionists, organize themselves to promote their material well-being in spite of the opposition of their political leaders and on the advice and persuasion of a Unionist, the inference to the Nationalist type of mind is clear, that the whole movement is a subtle attack upon the Irish party. These co-operative societies, that pass no resolutions against the "Saxon tyrant" and offer up no addresses to the champions of "a noble but oppressed race," but quietly attend to business, are a new and disturbing phenomenon. They hint at limits to the influence of "politics," at a reaction against the policy of postponing everything to the constitutional issue, at the possibility even of revolt from the cause and its leaders.

And, besides all this, there is the trade objection, or the ob-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

jection, to put it more accurately, of the small country trader. It is easy enough to understand why he is opposed to co-operation. As middleman, he buys the farmers' produce at the cheapest rate and supplies them with their agricultural requirements at the dearest. As money-lender, he advances them loans on more than Asiatic terms. As publican, he scores again by sealing every transaction with a drink. The only form of rural prosperity he is able to conceive is that of isolated, inefficient, unorganized farmers, living from hand to mouth under a perpetual load of debt, and lorded over by himself as gombeen-man and middleman. He is the instinctive enemy of co-operation, because co-operation releases the farmers from his grip, enables them to raise money through their own societies on easy terms, to purchase cheap and to sell dear. Co-operation, in fact, eliminates the country trader in his capacity of agricultural middleman and money-lender, and reduces him to his legitimate business of domestic shopkeeper and publican. And even here it threatens to invade his province. It is as easy to deal in tea, tobacco, clothing, groceries and furniture on the co-operative system as in seeds and manures; and the village trader conceives himself threatened with ultimate ruin by the spread of the movement. The experience of all countries that practise agricultural co-operation is there to prove that his fears are baseless, that you cannot increase the farmer's power of production without also increasing his power of consumption and that whatever benefits the farmer must in the end benefit the shopkeeper also. But the small village trader in Ireland sees the immediate loss, but cannot see the ultimate and much larger gain; and being, in addition to his other activities, the political boss of his neighborhood, controlling the local press, overrunning all the local elective bodies and acting as local treasurer for the United Irish League, he is able to bring to bear upon the Parliamentary representatives an amount of pressure that they have neither the ability nor the inclination to resist. The consequence is that the Irish party has from the first fought co-operation and done its utmost to thwart and cripple it.

Nor has its animosity been without effect. The co-operative movement has had its ups and downs, as any movement must have that is dependent upon private generosity and enthusiasm. The expenses incurred by the Irish Agricultural Organization Society in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

carrying the gospel of co-operation through remote and backward districts and among a lethargic, uneducated and distrustful people, have been very heavy. The society has had to shoulder all the preparatory work that in other countries is done by the State through the medium of technical instruction. It has not received the support it should have received from the societies it formed, those farmers whom it had not organized being unwilling to contribute towards the cost of being experimented on, and those farmers whom it had organized being equally unwilling to furnish the funds for organizing others. This may be human nature; it is, at any rate, human nature as one encounters it in Ireland. Moreover, when the Department of Agriculture came into existence, it took over a portion of the society's work, annexed some of its officers—there being none others to be had who at once knew Ireland and knew agriculture—and granted it a subsidy. Official financial assistance always and everywhere kills private generosity, and for the last few years the Irish Agricultural Organization Society has only been able to extend its beneficent work by the help of the subsidy. With the close of the current year, the subsidy comes to an end. The Nationalists, after attacking it for years, have recently succeeded in getting it withdrawn. That does not, however, mean the demise either of the society or of co-operation. The assaults upon it have rallied all its friends to its support. The enthusiasm of the early days of the movement is stirring again, and the farmers, who are at last realizing that if they want organization they must pay for it, are subscribing to the society's exchequer as they never subscribed before. I have myself no doubt whatever that if it is enabled by the generosity of its friends to tide over the next few years, the society will find itself presiding over and developing a self-supporting movement. Its work is the best that is now being done in Ireland and deserves and should receive the backing of all who wish well for the prosperity of the island.*

SYDNEY BROOKS.

(To be continued.)

* In the hope that some reader of this article may feel inclined to forward the work described in it, I add that the President of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society is Sir Horace Plunkett, and that its address is 84 Merrion Square, Dublin.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY CLAYTON HAMILTON AND CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

"THE GOLDEN HYNDE."*

THE main difficulty in attempting to estimate the value of the work of Mr. Alfred Noyes is that we are likely to be bewildered by his manifold and eager productivity. "The Golden Hynde and Other Poems," though it is only the third volume of his verse to be published in America, is the sixth of his volumes to appear in England; and Mr. Noyes is at present only twenty-seven years of age. His fecundity is amazing, and his variety is even more so. He has written poems in innumerable measures that have heretofore been used in English verse, and has invented many measures of his own. He has sung to the tune of masters as diverse as Swinburne, Blake, Rossetti, Tennyson and Heine, with a reckless facility and joyous grace, and has informed all his work with an individuality of charm. He can write a ballad or a lullaby, a song or a symphony, a light lyric or an ode; and he writes them all with the same extraordinary technical accomplishment and dauntless ease. He has not yet developed a blank verse of his own that is completely organized, and his spontaneity of rhythmic variation seems as yet inconsonant with the restrictions of the sonnet form; but he has written no verse that is bad, and much that is very, very good. Perhaps he is most at home in the triple measures which Mr. Swinburne has taught him how to wield.

It is safe to say that even the master himself has seldom surpassed the fluent melody of such lines as these, from "Orpheus and Eurydice":

* "The Golden Hynde and Other Poems." By Alfred Noyes. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1908.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"And they that were dead, in his radiant music heard the moaning of doves in the olden
Golden-girdled purple pinewood, heard the moan of the roaming sea;
Heard the chant of the soft-winged songsters, nesting now in the fragrant golden
Olden haunted blossoming bowers of lovers that wandered in Arcady;

"Saw the soft blue veils of shadow floating over the billowy grasses
Under the crisp white curling clouds that sailed and trailed through the melting blue;
Heard once more the quarrel of lovers above them pass, as a lark-song passes,
Light and bright, till it vanished away in an eye-bright heaven of silvery dew.

"White as a dream of Aphrodite, supple and sweet as a rose in blossom,
Fair and fleet as a fawn that shakes the dew from the fern at break of day,
Wreathed with the clouds of her dusky hair, that kissed and clung to her sun-bright bosom,
On through the deserts of hell she came, and the brown air bloomed with the light of May."

There can be no doubt whatever of Mr. Noyes's ability to versify. Although he is still very young, he has already mastered the mechanism of his art, and is prepared to say with permanence of form whatever may be given him to say. The deeper question remains to be considered whether or not the things he has to say are of sufficient importance to warrant the hope that in him English poetry may find a successor to the great Victorians. The evidence as yet is incomplete; but a thorough study of his recent volume gives me faith to venture an affirmative prediction. To be sure, it is not yet possible to formulate his message,—much less to weigh and measure it. We can do that in the case of Keats: all that is necessary is to quote the last two lines of the "Grecian Urn," and explain them with sufficient fulness of understanding. Shelley also said one thing all his life; and it is conceivable that his message might be formulated in a single sentence,—though Matthew Arnold failed to do it in his famous glittering phrase. But Mr. Noyes, who has said so many different things, has as yet not said the one thing he was born to say. That very diversity which so amazes us in his work is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

probably a penalty that he pays for not yet having found out precisely who he is. He will not be truly great until, like Keats and Shelley, he shall succeed in revealing unity beneath his multiplicity.

But whatever may be the one thing that shall constitute his message, after his genius shall have found the centre around which it must be destined to revolve, I have faith that Mr. Noyes will say it; and the reason is that I have faith in the man himself, as he stands exhibited in all his work. His productivity and his variety are indicative more emphatically of his strength than of his incompleteness. He is productive because he is healthy; and he is various because he is divinely capable of being interested in "a number of things,"—to quote the "Happy Thought" of the Poet Laureate of Childhood, whom in many wise ways Mr. Noyes resembles. His healthiness of spirit is a boon for which to thank the gods. Nothing is the matter with his body or his soul. In this age of morbid introspection, he never looks upon himself to curse his fate. He never whines or whimpers: his sadness is the deep great sadness of a happy man. He religiously believes in being happy; and his triumphant youthfulness is a glorious challenge to the sort of maunderers who are forever saying, "Ah! but wait till you have suffered!" After all the moanings and the caterwaulings of the sorry little singers, we have found at last a poet to whom the world is not a twilight vale of tears, but a valley shimmering all dewy to the dawn, with a lark song over it.

Only two things, so far as I can see, may stop him. There is, of course, a certain peril in his facility. He writes so easily and well that he may be tempted sometimes to write merely for the joy of the working. Some of his poems are already just a little thin: they are done beautifully, but they did not of necessity have to be done at all. But his other danger is more considerable. In several of the poems of this latest volume, he shows a tendency to intellectual dogmatism. He expresses good thought in good verse, instead of writing poetry. This is especially true in the pieces in which he inveighs against war, with a deliberate reversal of Mr. Kipling's thunderous imperialism, and in those other pieces in which he translates his general truth into the too particular terms of Christian dogma. He is least representative of his England when he strives consciously to deliver a laureate

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

utterance. When an intellectual or moral purpose gets in his way, he usually misses that perfect emotional fusion of content and expression which is poetry.

But these are, after all, only the defects of his qualities. Mr. Noyes is by far the most promising of all the younger English poets, because of his vigor and variety, his freshness of personality, and his ease of art. His career should be watched hopefully by all lovers of literature. We cannot now say what the future has in store for him; but it seems safe to predict that if any poet now writing is to inherit the mantle, it is he.

CLAYTON HAMILTON.

GÉRARD DE NERVAL AND THE FRENCH SYMBOLISTS.*

THE unhappy German poet Gutzkow, who, after having tried suicide ineffectually, finally in a chloral stupor overturned his lamp and burned himself to death, wrote a somewhat too long novel, "*Die Ritter vom Geist*" ("The Knights of the Spirit"). In a certain sense the brief book of Mr. Symons with its studies of the symbolists might better wear that title, and whatever one may think of its doctrine, its charm of style and the interest of its contents will certainly recommend it. The strange group of literary figures there presented were for the most part dreamers of millennial dreams who failed altogether when brought *aux prises* with reality. Vagabonds of foot and mind they wandered through their century, and doubtless no movement and no epoch can show so pathetic an array of lives as are those of Gérard de Nerval, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, Arthur Rimbaud, Paul Verlaine and Jules Laforgue. They were convinced with that old prophetic Abbot, Joachim of Flora, that the Age of the Spirit was at hand. They belonged to that race which believes that those who lose their lives shall save them, and they found fame, as therefore most of them would have desired, posthumously. Gérard de Nerval is the spiritual father of French symbolism. It is now just a hundred years since he was born, and the publication of a revised edition of Mr. Symons's book following closely upon the biography of Gérard by M. Ferrières will possibly

* "The Symbolist Movement in Literature." By Arthur Symons. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. "Gérard de Nerval" Par G. Ferrières. Paris: Lemerre.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

give a certain impetus to the study of a movement which has not yet found much favor on this side of the seas.

The book of M. Ferrières is evidently the book of a poet about a poet, and it is written with sympathy and understanding. It is not so much a study of the works of Gérard as it is a chronicle of those fairly rare interims in his life when his whereabouts and actions were known.

Gérard Labrunie, for such was his baptismal name, may in a sense be said to have been born an orphan, for his parents left him when but an infant to follow the fortunes of Napoleon. The child was given over to relatives in the Valois, and he grew up therefore with but little care and less love, surrounded by the forests through which Louis XIV and Condé so often rode in that old-fashioned romantic country which had seen the loves of Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrées. Near by was Ermenonville where the aging Rousseau dreamed and died. It was this quiet corner of the world which Gérard was to call his home, and hither he often returned when weary of the outer noises. Here, too, he has laid the scene of one of his most perfect stories, "*Sylvie,*" and here among the peasantry he gathered those poignant old folk-songs, two of which have come into English literature through the translations of Rossetti. A dreaming lad, he was given the freedom of an uncle's library and made his thorough and lasting acquaintance with the literature of the mystic and the occult. For him the "Kabbala," Nostradamus, Cazotte and St.-Martin held the keys of spiritual freedom, and it is natural, therefore, that when still a boy of nineteen he should have turned eagerly to Goethe's "Faust" and have given his compatriots that splendid translation which Goethe in his last years read in preference to his own original.

With this remarkable work Gérard stepped before the world in the heyday of the romantics. For the second time in its history the making of French literature had been turned over almost exclusively to young men. The golden age had dawned again. The cycle had been completed, and men were entering once more into *la jeunesse du temps et le temps de la jeunesse.* Even names dared not be prosaic, and the homely Gérard Labrunie became the poetic Gérard de Nerval. Yet while his romanticist friends with loud cries were demanding emancipation only from the dead hand of the past and the supposed tyranny

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the bourgeois, Gérard was quietly hunting his way to that beauty which is above time and to that realm of the spirit in which there is only freedom.

He started now gradually to make his home in that other world in which everything is gained and nothing is lost, and with this begins the strange story of his own extraordinary romance. His child love, Adrienne, had entered a cloister and had died, but for Gérard, as for many mystics, there was a law of the conservation of energy in the spiritual world. He believed that his first love had been reincarnated in the person of Jenny Colon, an actress, in no sense spiritual, of the Variety stage. In vain his friends remonstrated with him and tried to break his illusion. What they told him of Jenny's rather interesting if unconventional past concerned him no more than what they might have told him of the Princesses of Elis or the Queen of Trebizond. Too timid to seek an interview, he watched his idol for a year across the golden haze of the footlights. Nor did nearer acquaintance seem to lessen the distance between them. They were two worlds apart. The bewildered Jenny, so accustomed to suitors, could yet not understand the lofty language of adoration.

With unabated faith in his illusion for all his unsuccess, Gérard at last sets out for Italy, where he meets a charming English girl who "did pity him." Mr. Symons does not quite seem to understand that it is this beautiful rencontre after his hopeless love which lies behind the strange sonnets of "*Les Chimères.*" In them we see the beginnings of the symbolist movement in French poetry, the haunting new magic of Verlaine and all the manner of Mallarmé. Without a knowledge of this story the sonnets become mere beautiful riddles, enigmas and logogriphs. But even with this clue certain of the poems will remain sufficiently unintelligible for those who are unwilling to admit with Schopenhauer that the so-called solid realities of the world are a mere "cerebral phantasmagoria." Conjuring with his two loves, Gérard de Nerval was creating a hymn to the beauty which he worshipped through them. The poet was not attempting to tell a story nor yet to lay bare his heart; he was attempting rather to give us the movements in his own spirit and soul.

He returned from Italy, in Catullus's phrase, with cobwebs in his purse, but bringing with him nearly a car-load of carved Renaissance mantels. In his own beautiful words, "his brow

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was still red with the kiss of the queen, and he had dreamed in the grotto where the siren swims." He was near madness. Jenny Colon had become for him now not only the reincarnate Adrienne, she was also the Queen of Sheba. Gérard's friends had always recognized that he was one of those who have that slant "ray of moonlight in their brains," but when now one day they met him leading a lobster by a blue ribbon through the Place du Carrousel, because, as Gérard said, "he did not bark and knew the secrets of the sea," they felt it necessary to have him conveyed to the asylum of the famous alienist, Dr. Blanche. He remained there nearly a year, and the remainder of his life was spent alternately in such retreats or in travel, now an expedition into Egypt and Asia Minor, which he has so entertainingly described, or again a tramp, afoot and penniless, in the environs of Paris, or even occasionally in one of the outer countries of Europe.

One of the successors of Icarus, living in a century disinherited of its illusions, it had been his pleasant duty to create and live in his own world. In this world of his illusion he had come to be so much at home that to his friends in these last years he seemed almost an emissary from another. More and more he had lost touch with what men call reality. He dreamed standing, and the flat calm of reality was to him the "dead water which the swan disdains." The world of dream, as he himself puts it, began to overflow into his life, and it is the story of this flooding of his life by dreams which he records in that marvellous recital of hallucination composed in the quieter intervals of his last period of mental disease, "*Le Rêve et la Vie: Aurélia.*" He would never admit his madness, and on his own insistence he was dismissed from the asylum of Dr. Blanche in the fall of 1854, manifestly uncured and unfitted for the world. That state of narcosis in which alone, according to Nietzsche, the artist creates, with Gérard was now perpetual. He had eaten drums and drunk cymbals, as they said at Eleusis.

A lamentable death, however, was soon to close this life of whimsy and illumination. He eluded his friends and refused their offers of assistance and lodging. He was thinly clad, and his pockets were filled only with strange mementoes. After two winter days of blizzard he entered, long past midnight, into the poorest quarter of Paris and seems to have knocked at about three in the morning on the door of a two-sous lodging-house in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Rue de la Vieille Lanterne. There was no response. He drew from his pocket a bit of écru which he had exhibited to his friends as the girdle which Mme. de Maintenon had worn when she watched the performance of Racine's "Esther" at St.-Cyr. Drawing this about his neck, he hanged himself to the grating, and was found by laborers in the morning with his knees drawn up and a great tame raven perched upon his shoulder. In his pocket was that record of his madness, the manuscript of "*Aurélia*," two sous and a passport for the Orient. What passed through the mind of the dream-besieged star-gazer in those last hours we do not know. Because of the character of the place there was for a time vague talk of assassination. We are inclined to believe, however, what Dr. Blanche wrote to the Archbishop of Paris before the funeral: "Gérard de Nerval hanged himself because he saw his madness face to face."

It is the story of this man's life that we are given in the biography by M. Ferrières. It is excellently well written and reads like a novel. Now and then he has not quite succeeded in disentangling the truth from the old legend. In one case he quotes apparently verbatim a letter from Goethe to Gérard de Nerval. It has been quite conclusively proved (Goethe Jahrbuch, 1897) that Goethe never wrote this or any other letter to his translator. Gérard himself never mentioned it, and it is the pure fabrication of later hands. In the main, however, M. Ferrières has given us a sympathetic, sincere and interesting account of the known facts.

Mr. Symons's book, on the contrary, is a critical interpretation, and nowhere has he penetrated more deeply into the spirit of a literature which he knows so well, and nowhere has he written with greater charm. His little studies are relevant and illuminating. We think he is wrong, however, when in his conclusion he attempts to fuse his pessimism and mysticism. The two, to be sure, often go hand in hand, but the pessimism which leads to mysticism is the pessimism of unfulfilled desire and not Mr. Symons's *genre*, which is the pessimism of satiety. We feel that his espousal of mysticism is, after all, momentary and half-hearted, a mere *pis-aller*. For him mystic beauty is not yet, in the words of one of Mr. Symons's late friends, "dressed like a bride illustrious with light."

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *August, 1908.*

SPENDING a few hours the other day in the gallery of the House of Commons, I grew interested in comparing its appearance, manners and procedure with those of the House of Representatives. The differences really began to be felt before the Chamber itself was reached. To gain admission to the national legislature is not in England the simple business it is in America. You cannot stroll into the sacred precincts, wander at will through the lobbies and corridors and take a seat in the galleries whenever you please. There are formalities to be observed. You must first importune an M.P. for a ticket, and no M.P. can undertake to furnish a ticket for any specific date. He has to ballot for it, and as the applicants are many and the galleries small, whole days not infrequently pass before the necessary vouchers are forthcoming. Even when you are armed with them, your liberty of movement, to one used to American generosity in such matters, seems strangely limited. You ascend a narrow spiral staircase leading from the outer lobby, with a functionary at the foot to scrutinize your credentials. There is a sort of reception-room at the head of the stairway, where your cards of admission are again examined, where you enter your name and address in a book and where you are conscious of an air of official disappointment at being obliged to let you in. Some rather pompous attendants, who seem to have all of George the Third's contempt for the mere voter, marshal and shepherd you to the gallery itself, indicating the seats you are to take. The gallery faces the Speaker's chair—filling one of the shorter sides of a parallelogram. It is steep, uncomfortable and always crowded. Unless you are in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the front row or near it, nearly one-half of the House is shut out from your view. Opposite you, and above the Speaker's chair, is the Press Gallery; on either side of you, running the entire length of the House, are special and reserved galleries —for peers, distinguished strangers, diplomats and so on. These galleries, as a rule, are empty or only very sparsely occupied, and the contrast between their void expanse and the congestion of the public gallery suggests at once a contrast between Parliament and Congress, and between British and American democracy. It is absolutely consonant with the spirit of the two countries that in the House of Commons the public gallery should be a rather mean contrivance and the reserved and privileged galleries broad and inviting, while in Congress the conditions are precisely reversed.

But if in its building and in its arrangements for visitors the House of Representatives is superior to the House of Commons, in interest, in dignity and as a human spectacle the former falls, I think, very considerably below the latter. One great difference between the two bodies is that in the American House the seats are arranged in curved concentric rows. It follows from this that the two parties do not face one another squarely, and that much of the effect of a good set-to between them is lost by reason of their oblique approach. Then, again, Representatives are provided with desks at which they write letters and read books and newspapers, with the result that the floor is quickly littered with *débris*. Moreover, the House of Representatives being a purely legislative assembly, the executive heads, the Cabinet Ministers, who, after all, are the men best known to the nation, do not sit in it. This in itself deprives a debate in the American House of much of the interest it might have for a casual visitor. He sees below him several hundreds of undistinguished gentlemen, with whose names he is barely even acquainted. Add to this that the really important business under the American system is transacted in Committees and that the House for the most part is a merely ratifying chamber; add again that the scurrying of the pages up and down the gangways, the rustling of papers, the banging of desk-lids and the thump of the Speaker's gavel make it the noisiest and most headache-y assembly in the world; add, finally, that its members faithfully reflect the average American's indifference to exter-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nals, and to the smaller points of decorum, and are constantly to be observed lounging between the Speaker and the orator who is addressing the House, or enjoying the luxury of a dry smoke, or indulging in the Great American Habit—and it is not surprising that the House of Commons should at certain points present a more attractive appearance.

At Westminster, the benches run lengthwise in parallel rows, the Government being to the right of the Speaker and the Opposition to his left. The Irish members, whatever party may be in office, always sit on the Opposition side of the House, below the gangway, to emphasize their independence of English parties. In the present Parliament, the arrangement is spectacularly fortunate, as the Opposition forces are so exiguous that, in the absence of the Irish Nationalists, they would barely fill one half of the space allotted to them. Even as it is, they have to yield a portion of their normal territory to accommodate the overflow from the Government benches. There are no desks in the House of Commons and no revolving armchairs. The members sit on green-leather benches with elbows all but touching — actually touching when an important debate is on and the House is full. They cannot, therefore, use the House as a writing-room, nor are they permitted the relaxation of newspapers. Except the clerks at the table, who are wigged and gowned, nobody who is not a member is allowed on the floor of the House. If a constituent wishes to see his representative, he sends in his card, which is handed to the nearest member that the messenger can get at, and then passed from hand to hand along the benches until it reaches its destination. There is, of course, a constant going to and fro of members in and out of the House, each with his little bow to the Speaker as he enters or leaves; but the fretful clamor of the House of Representatives is wholly lacking. You do not see at Westminster, as you often do at Washington, small disputatious knots of members carrying on an animated discussion among themselves with a complete indifference to the business of the House. On all such matters, the British Speaker is rigorously punctilious and the unanimous sentiment of the House of Commons backs him up in punishing the slightest breach of order. There seems to be a general consensus that it is only by a rigid observance of the small points of behavior that the intimacies of daily conflict in a pugnacious assembly

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be kept on a high plane and that the House can preserve its reputation as a businesslike Chamber. It is certainly one of the first impressions one receives at Westminster, that the House of Commons is more concentrated on its work than the House of Representatives and tolerates far fewer distractions.

Then, again, the British governmental system invests the proceedings of the House of Commons with an air of reality that an observer does not readily detect at Washington. Some at least of this is due, as I have hinted, to the fact that the two parties confront one another face to face across the centre gangway. Debate is far more effective when honorable members can shake their oratorical fists all but in the faces of their opponents, when the thunderbolts of eloquence can be launched direct, when the serried masses on either side seem to strain in the leash. The House of Commons, moreover, is not yet devitalized by committees. It really does transact business in its own person. Its debates are not mere make-believe. It is still competent to hammer out the details of a complicated Bill in brief pertinent speeches across the floor. Its divisions have a weight denied to the divisions in the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives makes legislation, but the House of Commons has the further privilege of unmaking Ministries. A hostile vote and out goes the Cabinet. This does not, of course, often happen, but it is always a possibility and a possibility that lends to the result of every division a genuine importance. A Government whose majority falls below its normal figure knows that, for some reason or other, it has offended a section of its supporters, and that it has received a warning to mend its ways. Thus, even if the House does not often actually turn out a Ministry by rejecting one of its leading measures, it is at all times able to influence the course of legislation and to bring home to Ministers a sense of the risks they run in persisting in an unpopular course.

But what most adds to the interest of the House of Commons is that the most prominent men in the country sit in it. One great secret of its efficiency as a legislature is that the Ministers who devise the laws are also the Ministers who enforce them. England has no belief in a system that separates the executive and the legislative functions; and, as a casual frequenter of the House of Commons, I trust she never will have. From the spectator's standpoint, it enormously enhances the interest of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

House to find therein the men who are household names throughout the country. If Mr. Roosevelt and all the members of his Cabinet sat either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives, if one could rely any day on hearing Mr. Root expounding foreign policy or Mr. Straus debating the economic questions of the day, Congress would be a far more enthralling body than one can pretend to find it at present. The other day when I visited the House of Commons, I heard a long speech from Mr. Balfour, and a briefer, impromptu reply from Mr. Asquith, while on the two front benches were to be seen all the leaders of English politics. That was an entertainment of a kind that the House of Representatives cannot afford. It is only made possible, of course, by overworking Ministers and by having the House meet late. All morning the members of the Cabinet are administering their departments. All afternoon and evening they are in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords answering questions, making speeches, taking a hand in the business of lawmaking. It is a strenuous, a too strenuous life, but the chance visitor, as well as the conduct of affairs, gains by it.

The House of Commons is still, I think, the best-dressed assembly in the world. Its members reach, on the whole, a very high standard of appearance. The House of Representatives looks at first glance like an assembly of dissenting ministers on low salaries, and its manners are scarcely those of the drawing-room. The House of Commons, drawn from higher social strata and composed very largely of men of wealth, is undeniably more presentable. One sees, indeed, costumes to-day that would have been held heretical ten years ago, and the sack suits and Derby hats of the Labor members would, I imagine, considerably astonish Mr. Gladstone could he revisit Westminster to-day. But the sartorial average, like the average of good looks and physique, is still remarkably high; and the influx of Labor men, so far from lowering the tone and manners of the House, has, in my judgment, improved them. Lord Morley was saying, only a few weeks ago, that in all the qualities that make for greatness in a popular legislature the present Parliament is the best he has ever sat in. Coming from him, that is a tribute worth having, and it is, I believe, well deserved. Advancing democracy, however, has not been without its marked effect on the House. It has, for instance, profoundly changed the style of Parliamentary eloquence.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I doubt whether an orator will ever again be tolerated at Westminster. The influence of the Labor members is altogether against the long harangues of the old days and altogether in favor of brief, matter-of-fact, unadorned, conversational discussion. The capacity for public speaking is scarcely an English gift, but most English M.P.'s are able to make plain businesslike statements; and the modern style of oratory is really better suited to the national genius than the style it has superseded.

Being at Westminster, I naturally paid a brief visit to the House of Lords, that imposing, languid, decorous Chamber, where noble lords may still cultivate the arts of eloquence at their leisure, and where, as a matter of fact, you will hear far better speeches than in the House of Commons. I also, and quite as naturally, took tea on the Terrace. The Terrace runs by the side of the Thames for the entire length of both Houses, and after the mephitic atmosphere of either Chamber affords a welcome and soothing change. On a bright summer afternoon, dotted with tea-tables and relieved by the dresses of admiring women, with the endless life of the Thames flowing peacefully before one, with cigars and cigarettes to humanize talk, the Terrace well deserves to rank among the pleasantest of London's attractions. Congress has nothing to show that one can at all compare with it; and its popularity is a visible proof of that intimacy between politics and society which is perhaps the greatest of the many differences that distinguish public life in England and in America.

BERLIN, *August, 1908.*

THE interval between the adjournment of the German Imperial and State Parliaments, in the spring or early summer, and their reassembling in the autumn is long and tedious, and the monotony is only in part relieved by the congresses and conferences, national and international, political, social, religious and other, which meet at irregular intervals for the promotion of their various objects. The Emperor William, after an extended cruise in Norwegian waters, annually takes up his residence at Wilhelmshöhe, and attends the Grand Manœuvres of the German army; while the Imperial Chancellor with equal regularity repairs to the Island of Norderney, in the North Sea, there to commune with Nature and with the leaders of recalcitrant

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bloc parties. The special problem which calls for discussion this year is the question of a reform of the Imperial Finances. No details of the Government's proposals have leaked out, but it is generally believed that the imposition of new taxes, to the sum of $100,000,000 a year, is in prospect. This thorny and delicate topic is likely to have interfered to a very serious extent with Prince von Bülow's well-merited repose. While the captains and the kings depart, the press and public opinion in the capital are left to their own devices, and they employ their respite from supervision as seems best to them. Upon this occasion, after a perfunctory attempt to grapple with the financial problem, some have fallen to discoursing upon high Imperial themes, while others have proceeded to indulge their taste for introspection and self-examination. *Mutatis mutandis,* the process seldom varies from year to year, but certain aspects of its desultory development repay observation.

Dissolving views of this kind are haphazard in their origin, and examples may therefore be selected at random without regard to their relevance or connection.

The Navy League is in the throes of a critical domestic conflict, with the result that its enterprise and initiative are for the moment paralyzed. But the fervent apostles of German world-dominion have had the irksomeness of enforced inactivity, to some extent, mitigated by Count Zeppelin's achievements in the sphere of aërial navigation, and in a less degree by the alleged success of a German car in the New York to Paris automobile race which claims to have thrown a girdle round the earth in fewer months than any of its competitors. This dual triumph has given the requisite fillip to the unemployed agitators, who have founded an "Aërial" Navy League for the purpose of impressing upon the German people the absolute necessity of Germany's making sure of the "command of the air." The example of this new society will no doubt be followed by the foundation of other Jules Vernian organizations, so that the retired generals and other promoters of this "national" pandemonium will have their hands pretty full. The German is a gregarious animal, as Americans who contemplate the multifarious German "*Turn-*," "*Gesang-*" and "*Schützen-Verein*" in the United States have cause to know. If this activity can be flavored with a spice of politics, so much the more is it to the German taste.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At home in Europe the Polish *Sokols,* for example, are regarded by all good Prussians as hotbeds of treason and of everything that is subversive of established order, while America and other countries are expected to exhibit an intelligent sympathy with the professed aims of the confederated Germans among them. But this by the way. In Germany these associations have no fighting chance unless they can secure official patronage, and the measure of prosperity which they enjoy furnishes a by-no-means untrustworthy guide to the workings of the official mind.

The motives which inspire these movements are not always clear, although they are no doubt entirely laudable from the German point of view, but the methods by which they are promoted are in every sense conspicuous. A few concrete instances will illustrate this characteristic. In a beer-garden at Leipzig, a few weeks ago, Professor Lamprecht, the author of a work entitled "What is History?" addressed a crowd of 10,000 workmen, and told them that Germany's destiny and honor were bound up with the Macedonian and Morocco questions. With regard to Morocco, it is sufficient to say that the German Government has an uncomfortable suspicion that too forcible an appeal may perhaps have been made to German "national" sentiment in this much-vexed question, and that German prestige has become involved more deeply than is convenient. Far from being warned by the lessons of the anti-British campaign at the time of the South-African War, the authorities have allowed popular passions and misconceptions to grow until now a stage has been reached at which blind leaders of the blind, like the author of "What is History?" can command the plaudits of the multitude by asserting that the destiny of the German Empire is at stake in North Africa. Fortunately, recent developments in Turkey have rendered it for the moment impossible to test the theory that German honor is involved in the appointment of *gardes champêtres* or in the organization of flying columns to deal with the rival bands in Macedonia. Other instances of this dangerous spirit could be indefinitely multiplied, and its manifestations are all the more ominous because of the plausibility of the arguments by which it is fostered.

To take another and more insidious example. A German translation has recently appeared of a book by Dr. Archibald Cary Coolidge, Professor of History at Harvard University, on

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The United States as a World-Power." The book has received due attention from the German press, which is impressed with the judicial spirit in which this study of American political development has been composed. In its review of the work, however, the chief organ of the Prussian Conservatives and Agrarians, the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*," takes exception to Professor Coolidge's account of the vicissitudes of the relations between Germany and the United States in recent years. While admitting that American mistrust of Germany ever since Admiral Diederichs's squadron played so questionable a rôle in Manila Bay has not been entirely overcome by demonstrative Prussian royal visits and gifts of statues, the Berlin Conservative journal contends that the residue of suspicion in the United States with regard to Germany is based upon a superficial misapprehension as to her aims and objects. Professor Coolidge argues that the pressure of Germany's rapidly growing population must inevitably compel her to expand beyond the limits of her European boundaries, and in the southern half of the American continent alone can he discover a suitable field of sufficient extent to absorb the surplus population of the German Empire. The author recalls the fact that the three southern provinces of Brazil already contain nearly half a million Germans who have hitherto steadfastly maintained their national characteristics, and he suggests that, if the German Government should identify itself with the aspirations of the Pan-Germans, the United States might some day be compelled to appeal to the Monroe Doctrine against an act of German intervention in South America. The Berlin journal endeavors to refute this proposition by means of the usual arguments, and declares that, if Brazil is the only possible cause of conflict between Germany and the United States, the likelihood of a war between the two Powers is not only remote, but altogether out of the question.

In these controversial days, short memories are apt to prove inconvenient to their owners. Barely six weeks before this review appeared in the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" the same journal published a pretentious article in which it endeavored to show the importance of sea-power in history, and incidentally to trace the development of Germany from an agglomeration of petty Continental States to a World-Power. The process by which Germany is to be transformed into a World-Empire is thus described:

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We have learned to understand that the position of our Empire and our Nation in the future will not depend merely upon whether we preserve intact our boundaries in Europe, but also upon the question as to how many millions in every part of the globe will some day speak, think and feel as Germans. In order to achieve this consummation, it is necessary that we should keep our emigrants German in their speech, their mode of thought and their national sentiment, and this result can only be attained upon soil over which flies the German flag."

Professor Coolidge himself could scarcely have stated his initial premises more concisely and explicitly. If he considers that South America is the only region which can satisfy the required conditions he is entitled to his opinion, and, in the face of its own statements, the Berlin journal has no excuse for attacking a legitimate conclusion.

If the denial that South America is the objective is to be accepted, it is reasonable to inquire what other regions of the globe the Berlin journal considers suitable for the plantation of the surplus millions of the German Empire, and at whose expense the German flag is to be hoisted for their protection. There remain only the over-sea dominions and dependencies of Great Britain and France, against neither of which Germany, as the world has so often been told, harbors any ulterior designs. China seems out of the question, and in any case other Powers have prior claims in the Far East; while any hopes which Germany may have entertained of promoting wholesale emigration from the Fatherland to Asia Minor and the Nearer East, have for the moment been blighted by the unexpected self-assertion of the Turkish people which has suddenly manifested a national spirit of its own. Those who profess to tell the truth about German expansion invariably reiterate that nobody in Germany except those wicked and uninfluential Pan-Germans contemplates any of these hare-brained schemes. But the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" is not a Pan-German organ. On the contrary, it condemns the hyper-Teutons, presumably because their agitation is calculated to put other people on their guard. This Berlin journal is the organ of the Prussian *Junkers,* who are the pillars of Church and State, and its readers are to be found in court and camp and grove. When, therefore, a journal which is not a mere hole-and-corner sheet sets up a proposition of this kind as a matter of course, it is scarcely wonderful that mistrust of German professions should be wide-spread and profound. And yet Germany

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

herself, with her vast tracts of woods and forests, and her extensive *latifundia,* is by no means overpopulated, quite apart from her still undeveloped colonies, which are perfectly capable of absorbing the surplus population of the Empire for many years. Great Britain first developed her colonies before she developed her navy to its present pitch of power. In the case of Germany, the process seems likely to be reversed.

Anxiety to be something before having done something is not entirely a latter-day feature of German life and character. In one of his letters fifty years ago Bismarck wrote:

"We Germans are a vain people, and it is painful for us if we have not something to brag about; we forgive a great deal to a Government which invests us with importance in the eyes of other countries, and if we can only achieve this we can put up with a great deal, even if it touches our pockets."

The inspiring achievements of the great wars of last century, and the unparalleled growth of national industry and commerce, have imbued the German people with a profound sense of the importance of their country. This feeling is legitimate and just. But it is barely a generation ago since this wonderful transformation set in, and the Germans have yet to prove that they know how to administer the trust which has been placed in their hands, to the best advantage not only of themselves, but of mankind. There is still a large and influential section in Germany which rattles the sabre upon the slightest occasion, and intimates that "Germany is ready, let them all come!" The excuse for this conduct is partly to be found in the peculiar conditions of the European situation, and this circumstance must be taken into proper account. Nevertheless, the Germans claim to have kept the peace, sometimes under considerable provocation, for nearly forty years. But this argument is entirely beside the mark, since Germany has never been so strong as she is to-day, and with the continued growth of the German navy the temptation to put any given issue to the test of the sword must immeasurably increase.

This prospect becomes more disquieting in view of the fact that prosperity is beginning to produce moral and social evils which have hitherto been unknown in Germany. Unless the country makes a determined effort to steady itself, this deterioration of the moral fibre of the nation may be fraught with disastrous results. The scandals of the last two or three years

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have revealed an abyss of depravity, the existence of which even the most experienced German observers had never suspected. Not only Germans, but also German-Americans, have admitted the growth of these corrupting influences. The rapid accumulation of wealth has fostered a spirit of restlessness, materialism and Chauvinism. The moral tone of the German metropolis has long been a source of anxiety to those who were acquainted with the facts, and the disclosures of the last year or two have amazed and disgusted the whole world. Pornography has been raised to the level of a fine art, while much of what is accounted art is unworthy of the name. The natural concomitant of these manifestations is the "terror from below," and the Socialism of the masses finds a powerful ally in the utter want of religious feeling which pervades so large a proportion of all classes.

This, of course, is only one side of the picture, but it is by no means exaggerated, and the other side is so well known that it seems desirable that the perspective should from time to time be readjusted. Criticism of these developments is too often apt to be brushed aside by the average German as "Anglo-Saxon cant," but the facts speak for themselves. In many quarters it has been suggested that the German body politic is in a condition in which a little judicious blood-letting would be beneficial, and that a "national" war is what the German people needs in order to be purged of its distempers. The remedy is mediæval, and even if it were effectual it is clear that Germany still has a very long way to go before she can fulfil the aspirations which are entertained on her behalf of becoming the salt of the earth and the salvation of the world. These reflections and some others have made the summer one of discontent.

WASHINGTON, *August, 1908.*

A PRESIDENTIAL campaign seldom, if ever, begins to get under full headway before September, and this year there has been, as yet, rather less political activity than usual. Meanwhile, thoughtful persons have had an opportunity of comparing the platforms of the two principal parties, and of studying them in the light of the speeches of acceptance delivered by the candidates for the Presidency. As yet, the issues are not sharply defined, though, of course, the differences between the Republican and the Democratic programmes will be emphasized as the cam-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paign proceeds. For the moment, it looks as if the outcome of the contest might be affected to a considerable extent in certain States by personal predilection for one or the other nominee.

A striking feature of Mr. Taft's speech of acceptance was the large amount of space devoted to a fervid eulogy of President Roosevelt, and to an undiscriminating approval of his aims and methods. We do not say that the pronouncement of such a panegyric is unique in American political history: like expressions of enthusiastic admiration and loyalty were uttered by the immediate successors of Washington, of Jefferson and of Jackson. The analogy, indeed, between Van Buren's position in the campaign of 1836 and that now occupied by Taft is perfect. In each case the nominee knew that he owed his nomination exclusively to the favor of the President then in office, and each considered it a duty to proclaim the obligation. If, indeed, Mr. Taft had said nothing about the present Chief Magistrate, he could hardly have counted on the enthusiastic support of the Roosevelt wing of the Republican party. Nothing is more certain, however, than that Mr. Taft will obtain the votes of tens of thousands of citizens who, had they been compelled to choose between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan, would probably have refrained from going to the ballot-box. If what may be termed the conservative section of the Republican party, the section that desires to put the brakes on the prosecution of the Roosevelt policies, has decided to do all it can for Mr. Taft, this is because confidence is placed in his sober and equable temperament, as this has been exemplified in his judicial and administrative record. Nobody questions Mr. Taft's sincerity in applauding and adopting Mr. Roosevelt's ideas, but everybody believes that the former would find it constitutionally impossible to reproduce the latter's headlong methods. Nobody who knows him personally, or who has followed carefully his public career, believes Mr. Taft capable of using the tremendous influence possessed by a Chief Magistrate to glut spite against individuals or to endanger the present and future status of a great national industry. The impression is continually gaining ground that moderation, deliberation, an open mind and an equitable spirit would characterize the words and acts of a Taft administration. That, however, is a deduction drawn almost exclusively from the emotional, intellectual and moral quality of the nominee.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Bryan, in his speech of acceptance, and in the many public declarations that have preceded or followed it, has endeavored to adjust himself to the difficulties inseparable from the position, which he began by taking when he heartily praised and endorsed the views propounded and the efforts made by President Roosevelt during the latter's second term of office. From this point of view, the present contest differs from almost every one that has preceded it. As a rule, denunciation of the course pursued by the party in power and by its official head forms the staple of the campaign material relied upon by the Opposition. Under existing circumstances, on the contrary, the utmost that Mr. Bryan can promise is that he will go forward in the path opened by Mr. Roosevelt, and that he will go further in it than would his rival, Mr. Taft. The obvious answer is that, inasmuch as Republican preponderance in the Senate is assured for many years to come, Mr. Bryan would find himself unable to accomplish anything of importance during a Democratic administration, whereas Mr. Taft, if elected, would be in a much more favorable position for securing legislation.

We would not be understood to mean that there is no material difference between the Republican and Democratic programmes, as these have been interpreted and supplemented by Mr. Bryan. Although both parties are committed to a revision of the tariff, nobody doubts that the Democracy, if it had the power, would go further in the direction of transforming a high protective tariff into a tariff for revenue than would the party now in office. It will prove difficult, however, to get the voters excited over this purely academic truth, for the reason that everybody knows that, for at least four years to come, no essentially Democratic revision of the tariff would have the slightest chance of obtaining the sanction of the Federal Senate. The same thing may be said of the proposed prolongation of the Rooseveltian campaign against trusts and railway corporations. What Mr. Taft thinks about this matter is a question of great public interest, but Mr. Bryan's opinions on the subject are, for all practical purposes, negligible, since he could never carry out his ideas in the teeth of a hostile majority in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature.

If, now, we come to the third issue, namely, the degree in which the equity powers of Federal courts should be restricted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the matter of injunctions, we must recognize that the Democratic platform favors a more aggressive policy than that proposed by the Republican National Convention, and that it is mainly, if not solely, on that ground that Mr. Gompers urges not only the members of the American Federation of Labor, but union workmen in general, to support Mr. Bryan. The indications are, however, that next November, as in other Presidential years, organized labor will not evince political solidarity, but that each trade-unionist will vote in accordance with his habitual prepossessions in favor of the Republican or of the Democratic party. Outside of the ranks of organized labor, very few persons want to curtail the equity powers of Federal courts, and still fewer believe that a statute to that effect, even if it could pass the Senate, would be pronounced constitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

So much for the three capital issues. As for Mr. Bryan's demand that all deposits in national banks shall receive a collective guarantee, it is incredible that this should command popular approval after thorough discussion shall have brought out the inevitable consequences. The existence of such a guarantee could not fail to encourage speculation and embezzlement at the expense of honest, economical and sagacious management, and the ultimate outcome would be, probably, the shipwreck of the national bank system.

The shrewdest thing yet said by Mr. Bryan in the hope of allaying prejudice and misgiving is his recent declaration that a party programme must be construed with reference to what it omits as well as to what it enjoins, and that it is the duty of a nominee, if elected, to keep studiously in view the negative, as well as the positive, features of the platform on which he has consented to stand. This means, if it means anything, that Mr. Bryan, if successful at the ballot-box, will deem himself unauthorized to use his influence on behalf of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, or for the promotion of the Federal ownership of railways, or for the introduction of the Referendum and Initiative in our Federal scheme of government. Mr. Bryan virtually admits that he is estopped from advocating any of these innovations, for the reason that none of them was approved by the Democratic National Convention at Denver.

How is the campaign likely to be affected by the fact that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hearst Independent Party has placed a Presidential ticket in the field? It is generally conceded that, until recently, when the opposition to liquor-selling acquired such momentum in the Southern States, the Prohibitionists have been drawn, for the most part, from the Republican ranks, while it has seemed almost equally incontrovertible that most of the Socialists are seceders from the Democratic camp. The composition of the Hearst party is less accurately known; but, if we may judge by the returns of the last gubernatorial election in Massachusetts, most of Mr. Hearst's followers are ex-Democrats. There is, at all events, an agreement of opinion that the Hearst ticket will do much more harm to Mr. Bryan than to Mr. Taft. The States in which the Hearst movement may prove a considerable factor are, of course, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois and California.

It is gratifying to see both of the principal parties vying with each other this year in the effort to secure purity of elections. It is well known that the State of New York compels the filing of campaign receipts and expenditures, and the Republicans have announced that they shall regard the New York law as applicable to the Presidential contest throughout the country. The Democratic platform itself requires publicity in the matter of campaign contributions, and Mr. Bryan has since announced that no money would be received by his campaign managers from corporations. Mr. Bryan has said that no more than ten thousand dollars would be accepted from any single person on the Democratic side. Both parties promise a full accounting for receipts and the uses made of them, the only difference being that the Democrats agree to submit this before election and the Republicans afterwards. It seems to be taken for granted by well-informed persons that the funds available for disbursements by campaign committees will be comparatively small this year, though, on the Republican side, they will, doubtless, be adequate for legitimate expenditures.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

A Decalogue for Women?

FEW women, we suspect, appreciate the magnitude of the sacrifice they would be required to make to be placed upon a plane of absolute equality with men. They cannot hope to acquire equal rights and privileges without assuming simultaneously equal obligations under religious as well as under secular law. To those who are unacquainted with the inestimable boon which they now possess in being exempt from the prohibitions imposed by the Decalogue upon men in respect of certain specified acts, the acceptance of full responsibility signifies little, if any, addition to the burdens now borne. Wiser ones doubtless appreciate the extent of the immunity which they now enjoy, and they may well hesitate for a long time to forsake, for mere temporary advantages, a position likely to prove so serviceable in the hereafter. Whether feminine opposition to the attempt to establish equal rights on earth is based, in part, upon intelligent realization of the accompanying necessity of waiving this precious privilege, we cannot say; but it is clear that no woman should be permitted, through ignorance or misapprehension, to adopt a course which might tend to her undying regret in the world to come.

The fact, of course, is that women are not only not bound by, but are freed, at least by inference, from any obligation to observe the requirements of our fundamental religious law. The Ten Commandments were written for men and apply to men exclusively, except in so far as indirectly, through the agency of men, certain minor duties are imposed upon members of their households, and even here the full responsibility devolves upon the head of the tribe or family.

The Fourth Commandment, providing for a proper yet practicable observance of the Sabbath, directs that "in it thou shalt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates." All members of the household are comprised within the prohibition except one. "Nor thy wife" does not appear, and some have been led to suppose that the significant omission means that "thou" includes both husband and wife. The true explanation is quite different, as we immediately perceive upon comparing this with the Tenth Commandment. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's."

Clearly here "thou" does not include the wife with the husband; the injunction is addressed explicitly and exclusively to the head of the household, who is very properly forbidden to covet any of his neighbor's properties, some of which are specified in the order of their value. Two omissions from this Commandment as contrasted with the Fourth possess peculiar significance. The head of the family must not permit his son or daughter to work on the Sabbath, but he is not forbidden to covet the children of his neighbor. The reason for this differentiation is plain. Any except necessary toil on the seventh day would be unseemly in the one case, and, in the other, there was no need to forbid the coveting of the privilege of supporting non-producing young persons. Only the wives and servants and oxen and asses possessed actual value in common with inanimate possessions.

The reason for the omission of "thy wife" from the Fourth Commandment now becomes manifest. Nature required that sustenance should be supplied to the human body even on the seventh day, and it had, of course, to be prepared and served by some person. The injunction against work being performed by any member of the household except the wife leaves no room for doubt as to who that person was. Moreover, the custom of the Jews at that period and to a much later day confirms the theory that on this day even the servants were to remain idle, "that they," in the amplified Deuteronomy version, "may rest as thou"—*i. e.*, the head of the house—and that the wives should perform the necessary services.

The careful phrasing in both forms of the Fourth and Tenth Commandments definitely disposes of any idea that the laws were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meant to apply equally to husband and wife, and that "thou" comprises both. If such had been the intent, clearly "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife" would have read, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's consort," or some like comprehensive term. Besides, upon the fallacious assumption noted, the deliberate failure to forbid the coveting of husbands implies positive permission to do so, thus creating a distinction which would be most unfair. Further proof of the fact that "thou" refers exclusively to the head of the family is hardly required. It follows necessarily that none of the other Commandments, in which no distinction in respect to sex appears, such as "Thou shalt not steal," applies to women, since none was addressed to them but all were directed exclusively to the men, who were held, and are of course to-day, strictly speaking, accountable under our fundamental religious law for the earthly conduct and heavenly prospects of their wives. The fact that men have imposed restrictions upon women during the ages of their control since the Decalogue was promulgated is wholly immaterial, and need be considered only in a diplomatic, not at all in a moral, sense.

Of the two versions of the Decalogue, that in Exodus is regarded by the majority of scholars as the older, although even in this, as well as in the version presented in Deuteronomy, amplifications have been introduced which did not exist in the original form, and traces of one yet older appear in the thirty-fifth chapter of Exodus. Both Philo and Maimonides, in order to remove all anthropomorphic conceptions, insist that the Ten Words were not spoken by God's voice, but by an impersonal voice created especially for the enunciation; and both the Jews and Karaites hold that the writing on the tables was likewise a "creation," although, of course, the direct divine origin of both the spoken and written words is unquestioned. Nor is there any doubt that Moses was the intermediary and expositor, but there is only very general ground for the belief that his many amplifications were fully inspired. It is well, therefore, in trying to reach the true meaning of expressions pertaining to the point in issue, to consider the environment and attendant circumstances which may have influenced the prophet's mind.

What, then, was the personal attitude of Moses toward women? That he possessed peculiar powers of attraction for them there

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can be little doubt. It was because he was so beautiful as a babe that Amram and Jochebed determined, at no small risk to themselves, to preserve his life, and that the gentle heart of Thermutis went out to him. "God did also give him that tallness, when he was but three years old, as was wonderful," writes Josephus; "and as for his beauty, there was nobody so impolite as, when they saw Moses, they were not greatly surprised at the beauty of his countenance; nay, it happened frequently that those that met him as he was carried along the road were obliged to turn upon seeing the child, that they left what they were about and stood still a great while to look on him; for the beauty of the child was so remarkable and natural to him on many accounts, that it detained the spectators, and made them stay longer to look upon him."

This pretty description we may well consider to be the product of a vivid imagination, but Josephus's detailed account of how Moses, while a young man, utilized his personal attractiveness to great advantage cannot be ignored, since it is confirmed by the more painstaking Irenæus. According to this tale, while at the head of an Egyptian army besieging the Ethiopian city of Saba, Moses was seen by Tharbis, the daughter of the king, who forthwith became enamoured of him, and sent a message to him saying that she would procure the delivering up of the city if he would take an oath to marry her. Although dusky, Tharbis was a Princess and good to look upon, and the youthful Moses accepted the proposition. Thereupon his army was admitted through the wall and took the city, and the Princess dropped her title to become plain Mrs. Moses. What became of her subsequently nobody knows. The record merely states that Moses led his victorious army back to Egypt, and remained there until Pharaoh threatened to kill him. Then, as all will recall, he ran away and drew water from a wayside well for the seven daughters of Reuel, who was so grateful that he gave him his daughter Zipporah in marriage.

One would suspect that Moses was obliged to accept whichever of the seven was offered to him, because it seems incredible that a young man of his discernment would not have selected one more amiable. Zipporah, despite the fact that her name signifies "a bird," must have been a very peevish young lady. It is quite possible, too, that, being a daughter of a high priest, she felt

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that her social position was better than that of her husband. In any case, she behaved so badly and scolded so loudly that she disturbed the patrons of the inn at which they were tarrying while on their way to Egypt, and Moses, finding that he could abide her no longer, packed her and her children upon the back of an ass and sent them home to her father. The significant point in this incident, of course, is that so meek a man would not have treated a high-born, high-spirited lady in such a manner, even under so severe provocation, if he had not shared the common opinion of his day which classed married women with slaves and beasts of burden, as live personal properties. Years afterward, when her father, the high priest, brought Zipporah to her husband, then become a great man, Moses received her kindly, but no further word of either her or her sons appears in the record.

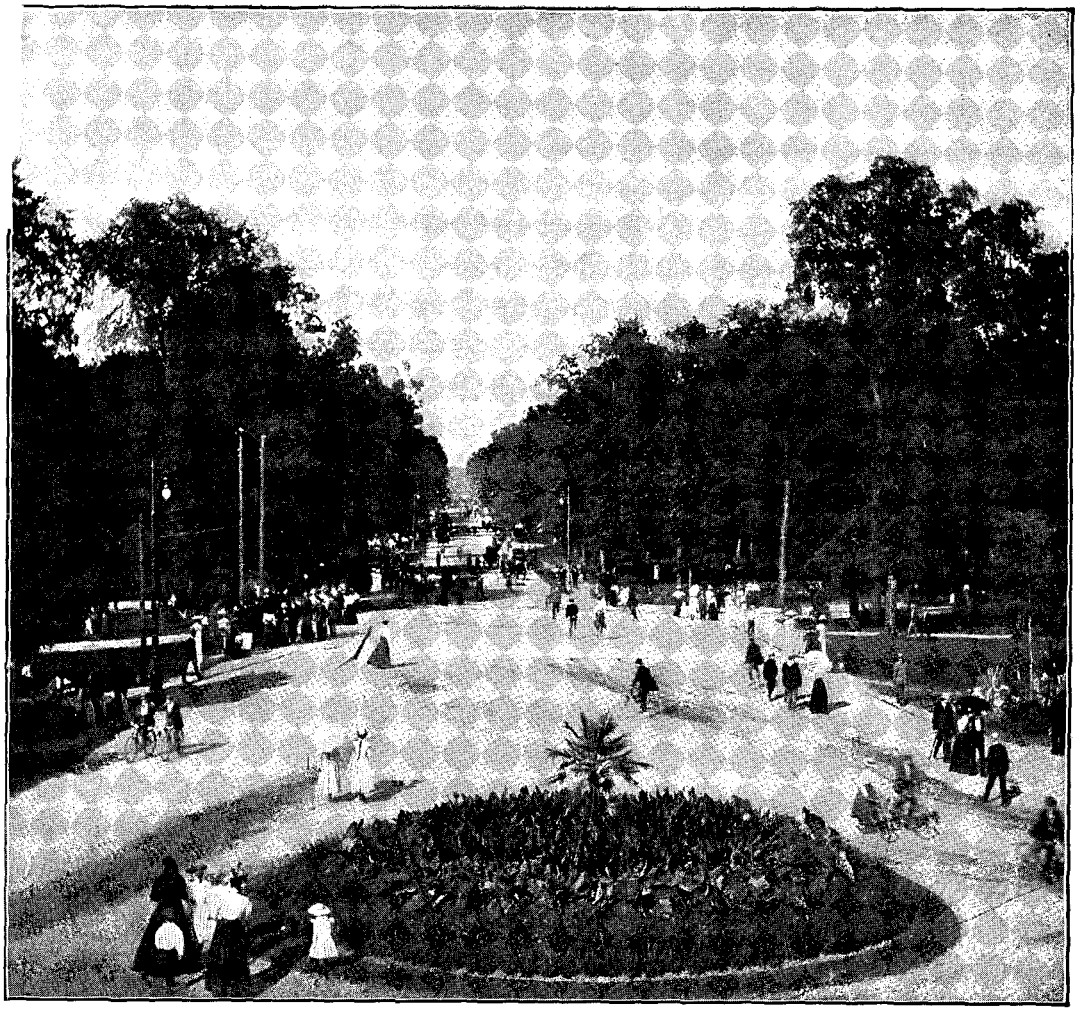
Many careless writers refer to Zipporah as an Ethiopian, because Miriam and Aaron complained of Moses for having brought disgrace upon their family by marrying a member of that dusky tribe; but there is no real basis for such a belief. Reuel was a noble as well as a high priest, and originated the plan of organization of the tribes adopted by Moses, thus indicating the possession of a stronger intellectuality than was common among the Cushites. Josephus, as we have seen, accounts for the cause of the accusation in a romantic but probably fanciful manner. Many years elapsed after the marriage with Zipporah and the reported marriage with Tharbis before Miriam complained, and it is most unlikely that the proud and sharp-tongued prophetess would have waited so long. We are driven, then, to the learned Doctor Fausset's conclusion that the Ethiopian referred to was a lady whom Moses espoused after the death or departure of Zipporah. We must not assume, however, that the Almighty indicated His approval of miscegenation by rebuking Aaron and Miriam for murmuring over their brother's choice of a helpmeet, because the words "ethiopian" and "cushite" were often used as synonymous with "beautiful," and it is altogether probable that the jealous prophetess cried out in resentment at the impairment of her own influence over Moses. On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonably certain that the great lawgiver's domestic life was praiseworthy in view of the fact that his first wife proved to be a shrew, and that in expounding the laws he was influenced

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by no consideration that could conflict in any way with the accepted doctrine of the time that man is and ought to be the head of a tribe or family and personally responsible for the acts of all members thereof.

The real question, as we stated it at the beginning, is whether the waiving of exemption from the prohibitions prescribed for men by the religious law can be counterbalanced by purely mundane gain such as would be derived from universal suffrage. Clearly that is a point which should be determined by women themselves. If they should see fit to waive their obvious prerogative for the common good, the decision would redound greatly to their credit, but it is one which, frankly, we, if in their place, should make only after most careful consideration. But we feel satisfied that men now possessing authority will make no further marked concessions in respect to the governing power unless and until women voluntarily place themselves under equal moral limitations. Whether, in the event of their deciding to do so, an attempt should be made to revise the Commandments to conform to modern conditions, or to compose a special Decalogue for Women, is a question for the theologians, and one which, at the moment, we do not feel called upon to discuss.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



BELLE ISLE, THE GEM OF ALL THE CITY PARKS ON THIS CONTINENT.

DETROIT.

SITUATED in a very beautiful location on the Detroit River, the estuary connecting the upper and the lower Great Lakes, Detroit offers unequalled attractions, both for the traveller and the home-seeker. It has well earned the title—"The City of Homes."

During the past two decades Detroit has become noted for the rapid growth of its population and of its commercial and industrial interests. The city has shown the greatest growth in population since 1880, when the total number of its inhabitants was given as 116,340 by the United States census. This number had increased to 205,876 by 1890, and to 285,704 by 1900. Detroit's area, at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that time, was 29 square miles. During the past few years large districts have been annexed on the east and on the west sides of the city, bringing the area up to 41.44 square miles at the present time. These annexations added about 22,000 to the population. The city's rapid advancement, industrially and commercially, since 1900 has brought thousands upon thousands of breadwinners to Detroit, and a conservative estimate places the city's population now at 412,000. The Detroit water-board's estimate of the city's population, in July, 1908, based on the number of families supplied with water, places the number of inhabitants at 424,898.

These figures show Detroit to have had a more rapid rate of increase during the last decade or two than any other city of its relative rank in this country.

The superb river which laps the city's southern boundary for the fourteen miles of its extent has in its pure depths all of the beautiful coloring of the waters of the upper Great Lakes. There is no variation in the even, steady flow of its waters, and Detroit never suffers from an overflow such as works awful havoc often in many river-fronted cities.

Belle Isle, the gem of all of the city parks on this continent, lies opposite the upper portion of the city, and encircled by the cooling, health-giving waters of the river nearly half a mile in width on either side. It is 700 acres in extent. The upper half is covered with a magnificent growth of native forest, and the lower portion is one great playground for the people of Detroit. Here young and old can find diversions according to their liking. A great field is set aside for athletic sports; there are swings and merry-go-rounds for the children, and the winding canals give a great opportunity for the thousands of canoeists, who keep their frail craft on the island, to enjoy this sport. The Zoo contains many fine specimens of animals and birds. The aquarium ranks next in size to that at the Battery in New York, and excels it in beauty. The horticultural building and the casino are beautiful types of architecture. The broad avenues and winding drives through the island give exceptional opportunities for driving and the pleasures of motoring.

Palmer Park, next in size, has an area of 140 acres. The city has twenty-three parks in all, with a total acreage of 1,181 acres.

Detroit has, by far, the finest fleet of excursion steamers on the Great Lakes. These give unequalled opportunities for a day's outing on the water. The great steamboat lines, reaching in their trade relations up and down the lakes, have been a great factor in the city's commercial development.

Detroit's fine interurban electric railways provide great advantages for close commercial relations with its neighboring cities and towns. Some of the lines run through sections of the country dotted with beautiful little lakes, upon the shores of which many residents of the city have their summer homes.

Such attractions as these also make Detroit an ideal point for the holding of conventions.

Woodward Avenue, Detroit's main residential thoroughfare, has been called the "Avenue of Churches." The name will be still more true when three magnificent structures along it, now under construction, are completed. Forty denominations and sects are represented in the religious life of the city, while the churches and missions in Detroit number 234. The close fellowship existing among the different bodies is shown by the Interdenominational Thanksgiving services, which have been held each fall for a number of years in the Detroit Opera House, in which, practically, all creeds and denominations have been represented on the stage by those taking part in the services.

Detroit's schools rank high in the standard of the teachers and in the architecture and equipment of the buildings. The enrollment in the public schools at the close of the school year in June, 1907, was 49,841. The enrollment in the parochial schools was about 20,000 pupils.

The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are housed in handsome and fully equipped buildings.

It is through the wide diversity of its manufacturing interests that Detroit possesses its industrial stability and commercial strength. It is the largest automobile manufacturing centre in the world. It holds the world's records for the largest stove factory, the largest seed-house, the largest manufactory of non-proprietary medicines, the largest paint and varnish factories, the largest soda and salt industries, and the largest adding-machine factory. It also has very large car-building, malleable iron, and copper and brass products plants.

Detroit has been one of the leading ship-building ports on the Great Lakes for many years. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

following tables show the commanding position it attained in this line in 1905, and which it has since held:

Vessels built in the different yards during 1905:

Detroit	14	134,000	tons
Lorain	6	56,000	"
West Bay City	4	37,500	"

Vessels built in different yards during 1906:

Detroit	13	108,000	tons
Lorain	8	75,000	"
Chicago and South Chicago	5	54,500	"
Bay City and West Bay City	5	50,500	"
West Superior	4	42,000	"
Cleveland	5	35,500	"

Vessels built in different yards during 1907:

Detroit	17	135,500	tons
Cleveland and Lorain	13	110,500	"
Chicago and South Chicago	5	44,000	"
West Superior	4	40,000	"

Detroit's manufacturing industries showed a growth from 1,363 in number and invested capital of $91,228,214 in 1904, to 1,504 in number and $112,588,539 in aggregated capital in 1907. The value of the output from these industries in 1904 was $128,761,658, and, for 1907, $163,467,374.

There has been a decided increase in downtown real-estate values during the past few years, while the very large number of homes erected, running in value from $1,500 to $5,000, has greatly stimulated the sale of lots in the outlying sections of the city. The number of deeds recorded during each of the past seven years shows a rapidly increasing ascent from 10,223 in 1901 to 15,908 in 1907.

Detroit's building record for the past few years has been a phenomenal one. The total number of building permits issued by the fire-marshal's office during 1906 aggregated $13,275,250 in value, and, during 1907, $14,226,300. The city's rapid recovery from the depression of last winter is indicated in the swiftly ascending scale in the value of the building permits issued during the first six months of the year. January's total was but $326,750; May's record was $1,096,450; while those issued during June aggregated $1,338,150 in value.

Detroit's banking institutions are noted for their stability and their broad yet conservative policies. The record of their growth during the past seven years is one of marked prosperity. It is but another index of the city's remarkable growth. The capital and surplus of the Detroit banks in 1900 stood at $9,815,100. By the close of 1907 they had increased to $17,393,000. The deposits increased from a total of $75,691,898 in 1900, to $117,674,983 in 1907. The clearings of the Detroit banks showed the remarkable increase from $316,663,049 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1900, to $711,610,393 for the calendar year of 1907.

The Detroit Board of Commerce, a citizens' organization devoted to the development of the city's commercial and industrial interests and the promotion of civic welfare, is a strong power in the community. It covers a wide scope in its activities. Detroit's advantages as a manufacturing centre, because of satisfactory labor conditions, healthful location, and large transportation facilities, are made widely known by the board. Its various committees keep close supervision over the different details of municipal affairs, and develop plans for the beautification and improvement of the city. It seeks to make true in every way its slogan that "IN DETROIT—Life is Worth Living." The Detroit Board of Commerce is known as one of the strongest commercial organizations in the country.

Commensurate with the splendid growth of Detroit has been the expansion of its wholesale trade, until it has become recognized that this city is one of the best places in which to buy goods there is in the country. This is largely the result of the work of the Wholesalers' Association of Detroit.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Being composed, as it is, of the brightest and best minds in the mercantile world, it is, as it were, a concentration of energy and ability that is proving irresistible.

Through the association, organized upon broad lines, the advantages of Detroit as a wholesale market have been developed until it stands second to none in the Middle West. The objects of the organization are wholly beneficial alike to the retailer and the wholesaler. It stands not for restriction, but for the expansion of trade. By its efforts, transportation facilities have been improved and increased, until quick delivery at reasonable rates is assured to all who deal here. With more than fifty different lines in its membership, harmonious relations exist, and all are working for Detroit, first, last, and always. It is the slogan of as enterprising a set of men as exists in the country—men who are public-spirited enough to give of their time and effort, not to build up their individual business alone, but to build for all, realizing that in thus doing they are building for themselves as well.

Transportation facilities at Detroit are unexcelled, both by lake and rail.

Terminal facilities at Detroit are such that prompt service is now the rule rather than the exception. The railroads are co-operating with the shipper in this respect, thus making Detroit one of the best points at which to do business. Arterial lines of railroads radiate from the city in all directions, as do spokes from the hub of a wheel. It is on the direct line of the traffic of the great trunk-lines east and west and north and south, and its geographical position makes it easy of access to buyers.

The importance of Detroit as a wholesale centre is recognized by the steamship lines as well as the railroads. Excellent service is given by the lake lines, and there is not a day that a steamer does not leave Detroit for all prominent ports on the Great Lakes.

In 1906 there was on an average of $50,000,000 worth of business handled by the wholesale houses of this city. More than $15,000,000 was added to this before the dawn of 1908, and it is probable that when the present year goes down into history the wholesale trade will cross the $75,000,000 mark.

Detroit's hotel accommodations have recently been increased by the erection of a fine structure costing over $1,000,000, which is perfect in its modern equipment. There are also six other hotels equipped for high-class patronage. These hostelries are filled during the summer with a large percentage of visitors from the South and West, who come to Detroit to enjoy its delightful climate and many summer recreation features.

Detroit has one of the finest vaudeville theatres in the country, and many other features in the amusement line.

Those who make the city the place of their habitation, those who have seen its wide avenues, lined with beautiful trees, and enjoyed even a day's sojourn within its gates, when asked to express their choice of a city as a place of abode, give but the one answer—Detroit.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

B. L. Putnam Weale

is the pseudonym over which one of the best known and most influential foreign residents of Peking has published a number of illuminative works on Asiatic subjects. On his mother's side he is a descendant of General Israel Putnam. Among the volumes which bear his name are: "The Coming Struggle in the Far East," "Manchu and Muscovite," "The Reshaping of the Far East," "The Truce in the Far East" and "Indiscreet Letters from Peking."

Hannis Taylor,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1851. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar, and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893. The wide literary fame gained for Mr. Taylor by his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" was materially enhanced by his treatise on "International Public Law," which has been declared by a high authority to be "the most exhaustive work of its kind issued in this country since Dana's Wheaton." In recognition of the service which he had rendered to literature and learning by the publication of these works, the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh simultaneously conferred upon Dr. Taylor the honorary degree of LL.D. He recently published a third treatise, of a like scholarly and comprehensive character, on the "Jurisdiction and Procedure of the United States Supreme Court," upon which the Justices of that court have put the imprimatur of their high approval and commendation. Mr. Taylor represented the United States before the Alaskan Boundary Commission. A new work from Dr. Taylor's pen, entitled "The Science of Jurisprudence," has just been announced as for early publication—a systematic, comparative study of Roman and English law.

Brander Matthews

is one of the best known of living American authors. He was born in New Orleans in 1852, and studied at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1871. He was admitted to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the New York bar, but he turned from law to literature, to which, for many years, he has devoted an indefatigable and versatile pen. In 1892, he was appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University.

EDWARD L. ANDREWS

was born in New Orleans in 1846. He studied at the University of London, where he became a prizeman in Political Economy. He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1868. He has made a specialty of State Bond matters, having acted for Tennessee and North Carolina Bond Committees. He has been a contributor to the "American Law Review," the "Albany Law Journal" and "The Sun."

CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER

was born in Illinois and educated in Nebraska. He was assistant State librarian and reporter to the Supreme Court of Nebraska from 1888 to 1892. In 1890 he was admitted to the Bar, and practised law in Omaha for twelve years. From 1900 to 1903 he was professor of law in the University of Nebraska, during part of that time being a member of the Supreme Court commission. Since 1903 he has been a judge in the United States Court of First Instance in the Philippines, and in 1907 he was chairman of the commission appointed to codify the laws of the Philippine Islands. He is the author of several legal works, including "Constitutional Law," "Equity" and "Philippine Practice."

JOHN TOWNSEND TROWBRIDGE

has long been a prominent figure in modern American literature. For over half a century he has been acting as editor of and contributor to magazines and journals. He is the author of a large number of works, including, "The South and its Battlefields," "The Vagabonds and other Poems," "Jack Hazzard and his Fortunes," "The Younger Surveyor," "The Emigrant's Story and Other Poems," "The Book of Gold and other Poems," "A Start in Life," "The Lost Earl and other Poems," "The Kelp Gatherers," "The Scarlet Tanager" and "The Prize Cup."

HUBERT BRUCE FULLER

has practised law in Cleveland for several years. He has paid special attention to legal, historic and economic subjects, in the study of which he distinguished himself at Yale and Columbia Universities. He was awarded the Cobden Club medal in 1901, for an article on "Alexander Hamilton

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and his Economic Policies." He is the author of "The Purchase of Florida" and "Tax Returns in Ohio," and he has contributed to various papers and magazines.

JOHN BALL OSBORNE,

Chief of the Bureau of Trade Relations in the State Department, and formerly Joint Secretary of the Reciprocity Commission, was appointed, a short time after graduating at Yale in 1889, United States Consul at Ghent, Belgium. He returned to America in 1894, and was admitted to the bar of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and to the Philadelphia bar, in 1895. He is a member of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, of the Sons of the Revolution and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He is the author of "The Story of Arlington," and he has frequently contributed articles on economic and general topics to the magazines and the weekly press.

REAR-ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, U. S. N.,

was appointed midshipman from New York in 1841; did duty on many stations and circumnavigated the globe. During the Mexican War he served on the Pacific coast. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1855, to lieutenant-commander in 1862, to commander in 1866, to captain in 1872, to commodore in 1881, and to rear-admiral in 1885. During the Civil War, he was lieutenant on the frigate "Wabash," and commander of the monitor "Nantucket," of the double-ender "Sonoma," of the "Canandaigua" and of the "Pontiac." He served in the North Atlantic blockading squadron. He was associate-editor of "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," naval editor of "The Standard Dictionary," and author of "Naval Songs" and of "Seamanship," which is used as a text-book at the United States Naval Academy.

HENRY HARRISON LEWIS

has been a contributor to magazines for a number of years, especially on economic subjects. He has made a special study of foreign trade conditions affecting America's oversea commerce. He is the editor of "American Industries," published by The National Association of Manufacturers.

JOSEPH SPENCER KENNARD

is a native of New Jersey, and had the advantage of a varied education at a number of Universities in America and Europe, several of which have conferred upon him honorary degrees. For the last ten years Dr. Kennard has resided in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe. He is a member of many learned societies on both sides of the Atlantic, and he has delivered courses of lectures in Universities of the Old and New Worlds, on Italian art and literature. Among the works published by him may be mentioned "*Entro un Cerchio di Ferro*" (written in Italian), "Contemporary Italian Romance," "Alaskan Legends and Totems," "The Friar in Fiction," "*Studi-Danteschi*" (written in Italian), "*Romanzi e Romanzieri Italiani*" (written in Italian) and "Italian Romance Writers."

J. B. CASE,

whose interests are identified with the West and the development of its resources, its industries and its commerce, is the president of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, which is to hold a meeting in San Francisco in the early part of October.

HENRY JAMES FORMAN

was graduated from Harvard, and then engaged in journalism in New York City. For some time he served on the staff of the New York "Sun," and also as political editor on "The Literary Digest." From October, 1905, to October, 1906, he was literary editor of "Appleton's Magazine," and he has contributed to various magazines. At present he is connected with the REVIEW.

GERHARDT C. MARS

graduated in Arts from the Northwestern University in 1885 and, after graduating in Divinity from the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, in 1887, he entered the Methodist ministry. From 1888 to 1891 he occupied the chair of English in the University of South Dakota. He withdrew from the ministry in 1891, and for two years was engaged in post-graduate work at Harvard in English, and at Boston University in philosophy. From 1895 to 1900 he studied and travelled in Europe. He is the author of an important work—the fruit of twenty years' preparation—entitled "The Interpretation of Life."

FREDERIC TABER COOPER,

editor of "The Forum," and formerly literary editor of the New York "Globe," was educated at Harvard and Columbia Universities. He has held assistant instructorships and assistant professorships in Columbia and New York Universities. In collaboration with Arthur Bartlett Maurice, he wrote the "History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED